

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

of the Protestant Episcopal Church



MARCH, 1953

•
EDITORIALS

•
THE ORGANIZATION OF THE EPISCOPAL
CHURCH IN TENNESSEE *By Edgar Legare Pennington*

•
CALIFORNIA'S BACK YARD: THE STORY OF THE
MISSIONARY DISTRICT OF SAN JOAQUIN,
1850-1944 *By Frederick D. Graves*

•
NEW LIGHT ON THE RELATIONS OF EARLY
AMERICAN METHODISM TO THE ANGLICAN
CLERGY IN VIRGINIA AND NORTH CAROLINA
By William Warren Sweet

•
THE WEALTH OF THE CLERGY OF VIRGINIA
IN 1791 *By G. MacLaren Brydon*

•
HISTORIC PARISHES: ST. JOHN'S CHURCH,
ELIZABETH, NEW JERSEY—

I. HISTORICAL SKETCH *By Nelson R. Burr*

II. THE HISTORY OF ST. JOHN'S CHURCH
DONE IN HERALDRY

Exposition by Walter H. Stowe

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REVIEWS: I. American Church History and
Biography.

II. English and General Church History.

III. Theology and Philosophy.

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Vol. XXII

MARCH, 1953

No. 1

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
EDITORIALS.....	6
<p>The Growth of the Church Historical Society . . . Resolution of the Fifty-Seventh General Convention Concerning the Church Historical Society . . . An Important Project: The Completion of the Ordination Record of the Clergy, 1785-1885 . . . The Library of Congress and the Micro-filming of the Archives of the S. P. G. . . . Dr. C. Rankin Barnes—Secretary of the Joint Commission on HISTORICAL MAGAZINE . . . Publications of the Dalcho Historical Society . . . <i>The Historiographer of the Diocese of Connecticut</i> . . . The Troubles of an Editor!</p>	
THE ORGANIZATION OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN TENNESSEE.....	13
<i>By Edgar Legare Pennington</i>	
CALIFORNIA'S BACK YARD: THE STORY OF THE MISSIONARY DISTRICT OF SAN JOAQUIN, 1850-1944. 45	
<i>By Frederick D. Graves</i>	
NEW LIGHT ON THE RELATIONS OF EARLY AMERICAN METHODISM TO THE ANGLICAN CLERGY IN VIRGINIA AND NORTH CAROLINA.....	69
<i>By William Warren Sweet</i>	
THE WEALTH OF THE CLERGY OF VIRGINIA IN 1791..	91
<i>By G. MacLaren Brydon</i>	
HISTORIC PARISHES: ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, ELIZABETH, NEW JERSEY.....	99
<p>I. Historical Sketch.....<i>By Nelson R. Burr</i> II. The History of St. John's Church Done in Heraldry <i>Exposition by Walter H. Stowe</i></p>	

BOOK REVIEWS

(Pages 106-133)

I.

AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Religion in the Development of American Culture, 1765-1840 (by William Warren Sweet) GEORGE E. DEMILLE

The Diary of George Templeton Strong, 1835-1875 (edited by Allan Nevins and Milton Halsey Thomas) RICHARD G. SALOMON

The Oxford American Prayer Book Commentary (by Massey Hamilton Shepherd, Jr.) R. D. MIDDLETON

The Episcopal Church: A Miniature History (by Walter Herbert Stowe) R. D. MIDDLETON

PARISH HISTORIES:

1.

The First Century of Grace Church Parish [Plainfield, New Jersey] (by Harry James Knickle) . . . WALTER H. STOWE

2.

History of the Church of St. John in the Wilderness, Copake Falls, New York (by George E. DeMille) . . . WILLIAM W. MANROSS

An Album of Methodist History (by Elmer T. Clark) WILLIAM W. MANROSS

Presbyterian Panorama (by Clifford M. Drury)

From Frontier to Frontier: An Interpretation of 150 Years of Presbyterian National Missions (by Herman N. Morse)

Climbing Jacob's Ladder: Story of the Work of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., among the Negroes (by Jesse Belmont Barber)

WILLIAM A. CLEBSCH

Bridge to Africa (by L. K. Anderson and W. Sherman Skinner)

DUBOSE MURPHY

A Baptist Bibliography (edited by Edward C. Starr)

WALTER H. STOWE

AMONG OUR CONTEMPORARIES:

South Carolina Historical Magazine (July, 1952; October, 1952)

. . . *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (December, 1952) . . .

Church History (December, 1952) . . . *Wisconsin Magazine of*

History (Summer, 1952) . . . *Church History* (September, 1952).

St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly E. R. HARDY

II.

ENGLISH AND GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

The Christian Dilemma—Catholic Church: Reformation (by W. H. van de Pol; translated by G. van Hall) E. H. ECKEL

Bishops and Societies. A Study of Anglican Colonial and Missionary Expansion, 1698-1850 (Hans Cnattingius) C. RANKIN BARNES

- The Planting of Christianity among the West Saxons* (by Edgar Legare Pennington)
The Church of England and the Reformation (by Edgar Legare Pennington).....PERCY V. NORWOOD
Torchbearer of Freedom: The Influence of Richard Price on Eighteenth Century Thought (by Carl B. Cone)
Saints in Politics: The "Clapham Sect" and the Growth of Freedom (by Ernest Marshall Howse).....FRANK J. KLINGBERG
Correspondence and Minutes of the S. P. C. K. Relating to Wales, 1699-1740 (edited by Mary Clement).....WALTER H. STOWE
Scotland of the Saints (by D. D. Pochin Mould)....R. D. MIDDLETON
The Era of the Church Fathers [A History of the Early Church, Vol. IV] (by Hans Lietzmann; translated by Bertram Lee Woolf).....E. R. HARDY
Documents Illustrating Papal Authority, A. D. 96-454 (edited and introduced by E. Giles).....WALTER H. STOWE
Sponsors at Baptism and Confirmation: An Historical Introduction to Anglican Practice (by Derrick Sherwin Bailey, Ph. D.)
E. H. ECKEL

III.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY

- Sacrifice in Greek and Roman Religions and Early Judaism* (by Royden Keith Yerkes).....W. NORMAN PITTENGER
Ancient Christian Writers: St. Augustine. Sermons for Christmas and Epiphany (translated and annotated by Thomas Comerford Lawler).....E. H. ECKEL
St. Prosper of Aquitaine: The Call of All Nations (translated and annotated by P. DeLetter, S.J.).....E. R. HARDY
The Enigma of the Hereafter (by Paul Siwek)....W. NORMAN PITTENGER
Two Vital Questions (by William Postell Witsell)
W. NORMAN PITTENGER and DUBOSE MURPHY
The Carillon (by Lawrence W. Pearson).....DUBOSE MURPHY
The Hope of Glory (by John S. Higgins).....DUBOSE MURPHY
Meditations and Devotions by Francois de Fenelon (selected and translated by Elizabeth C. Fenn).....F. A. McELWAIN
Evolving Universe (by Rufus S. Phillips)
Solving the Riddle of the Universe (by Arthur A. Walty)
W. NORMAN PITTENGER

Editorials

The Growth of the Church Historical Society



HISTORICAL MAGAZINE has no control over the Church Historical Society, and the latter has none over the former. HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is published by a Joint Commission of General Convention "and under the auspices" (i. e. favoring influence) of the Church Historical Society.

Their respective origins are quite different. The Magazine was established under clerical leadership, and was an *official* organ of the General Convention from the start. Authorized in 1931, it began publication in 1932. It has completed 21 years of continuous publication, and has produced over 8,000 pages of history and biography in 21 volumes.

The Society began in 1910 under lay leadership, and was an entirely unofficial organ of the Church for thirty years—until 1940, when the General Convention made it the official custodian of its archives and began triennial appropriations to it.

Nevertheless, the cause in which each is engaged is the same—the propagation of historical and biographical truth. Each has a different section in the same vineyard to cultivate, and their areas of work are not competitive but complementary. Each therefore tries to help the other in the fulfillment of its task.

The Church Historical Society has made a remarkable record, all things considered. Compelled to operate on the proverbial financial shoestring (its dues are still only \$2 per year), with no endowment, its membership has grown from 79 in 1936 to 842 in 1952—a net increase of just short of 1,000 per cent (965.8%) in 16 years.

The turning point in its usefulness to the Church, and in its growth, came with the retirement of its librarian, the Rev. Dr. George Woodward Lamb, from the parochial ministry in 1937 at the age of seventy-four, and his consequent full-time work for the Society until his death in 1948. He had previously been part-time librarian from 1923 to 1937. His successor is the Rev. William Wilson Manross, Ph.D., already (in 1948) well known to the Church as an eminent historian. Under his librarianship, the Society has gone "from strength to strength."

During its forty-two years of existence, the Society has published 37 titles, ranging from an *Epitome of the History of the Holy Catholic Church* (a chart), which sells for 2c per copy, to *Virginia's Mother Church*, Volume II, 1727-1814, which sells for \$10 per copy. Of these 37 titles, seven were published during the first twenty-five years, 1910-

1935; and 30 have been published during the following seventeen years, 1936-1952. All of the 13 cloth-bound volumes have been published during this latter period, plus 17 brochures of varying length and character.

But the Society's very success has been embarrassing. It lacks room for the proper housing of its own fine library, as well as of the archives of the General Convention, entrusted to it as official custodian of the same.

We therefore earnestly commend to the attention and prayers of our readers the resolution of General Convention concerning the Church Historical Society, a copy of which immediately follows.

WALTER H. STOWE.

Resolution of the Fifty-Seventh General Convention Concerning The Church Historical Society

Whereas, The Church Historical Society is an "official agency of the General Convention for the collection, preservation, and safe-keeping of records and historical documents connected with the life and development of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, and to foster as far as possible the investigation of its history and the development of interest in all relevant research"; and

Whereas, The Archives of the General Convention, the Archives of the National Council, and the Society's own valuable Collections are housed in over-crowded quarters which are not fireproof, and which are therefore hazardous to their safe-keeping and efficient use; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the 57th General Convention commends the Church Historical Society in its character as an official agency of the said Convention to the favorable consideration of all Churchmen; and be it further

Resolved That the Managers of the Church Historical Society proceed by all proper means and with all possible speed to remedy the over-crowded conditions and lack of fireproof housing under which it now operates as an official custodian of this Church.

*Attest: C. RANKIN BARNES,
Secretary of the
General Convention*

September 18, 1952

An Important Project: The Completion of the Ordination Record of the Clergy, 1785-1885

BETWEEN August 3, 1785, and December 31, 1884, not less than 6,000 clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America were ordained to the diaconate. Their names, dates of ordination, and names of the bishops ordaining, are recorded in two indispensable *Lists of Deacons*:¹

BURGESS, George, *List of Deacons* (Boston, 1875), which includes 2,787 names of those ordained between August 3, 1785, and December 31, 1857.

DOWNING, E. H., *List of Deacons* (New York, 1886), which includes 3,190 names of those ordained between January 1, 1858, and December 31, 1884.

Herman Cope Duncan, who succeeded Downing as Recorder of Ordinations, added three ordinands to Burgess' *List* and twenty to Downing's *List*, making a grand total of 6,000 ordained up to January 1, 1885.

Duncan began the practice, continued ever since, of recording dates of ordination to the priesthood, which neither Burgess nor Downing ever did. Duncan's first *List*, covering the years 1885-1895, was never published separately, but must be found in the *General Convention Journal*, 1895, pp. 517-585.

Beginning with Duncan, some efforts were made to complete the record of the deacons ordained priests between 1785 and 1885—of the total of 6,000, as stated above. The present Recorder of Ordinations—The Church Pension Fund—is making a serious effort to do this, and has engaged the services of the Rev. William H. Stone, retired priest of the diocese of New Jersey. Fr. Stone has made considerable progress, concentrating for the present on Bishop Burgess' *List*. He reports:

"Of the 2,787 deacons listed by Bishop Burgess, dates of ordination to the priesthood of 1,588 had already been found before I began my work. Since then 771 more dates have been added, bringing the total up to 2,359. Sixty-seven have been found who were never made priests, leaving 360 names on Burgess' *List* to be accounted for.

"In addition to the date of ordination, the place and date of birth and death, when such are found, are being recorded,

¹See Walter H. Stowe, "Clerical Directories—Past and Present," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, X (1941), 390-398.

and a note inserted where biographical sketches and obituaries are to be found. All this requires a great deal of patient research."

The cooperation of diocesan historiographers, especially of the oldest dioceses, is much needed. Dr. G. MacLaren Brydon, historiographer of the diocese of Virginia, is giving such cooperation. The writer has published the ordination records of John Croes and George Washington Doane, the first two bishops of New Jersey.

This Church places great stress on holy orders. The record of conferring orders—whether on deacon, priest or bishop—should be complete. It is to be hoped that a nearly complete record of ordinations in this Church from 1785 to, say, 1935, which would be a century and a half, may be published at some not too distant day.

W. H. S.

The Library of Congress and the Microfilming of the Archives of the S. P. G.

WHILE writing a volume for the diocese of New Jersey on *The Anglican Church in New Jersey*, one of our contributors, Nelson R. Burr, Ph. D., has made extensive use of the Transcripts from the archives of the S. P. G. in the Library of Congress, where he is employed. He now reports that through the assistance of several of his colleagues there, the Library in the near future will make important additions to the Manuscripts Division, which will be of great assistance to all researchers in the field of colonial Church and secular history.

Dr. Burr states:

"Under the general supervision of Miss Anna Ruth Fisher, its representative for the photoduplication of foreign archives, the Library is conducting an extensive microfilming project in the archives of the Venerable Society. The plans now comprise microfilming: (1) the first unbound [original] volume of the Minutes of the Standing Committee; (2) the eight volumes of the contemporary copies, 1702-1758; and the originals, 1758-1783. (It should be explained that the originals are a rough journal, the contemporary copies a fair and perhaps somewhat edited copy of the rough journal.) Also included in this vast program are (3) the Appendices to the Journal of the Society, and (4) all of Series A and Series B of the missionaries' letters (1702-1783) now included in the Library of Congress Transcripts.

"Hitherto these valuable letters have been available in this country only in the Transcripts, or in printed form much edited and with considerable omissions, as in William Stevens Perry's

Historical Collections. Now we are to have microfilm copies of all the extant originals, from which blow-ups could be made for the use of our historians. The boon to all Church and secular scholars will be inestimable, and the availability of photographically exact copies should lead, eventually, to the publication *in toto* of the letters and the minutes."

W. H. S.

Dr. C. Rankin Barnes, Secretary of the Joint Commission on *Historical Magazine*

THE JOINT COMMISSION of the General Convention, which publishes HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, was honored by the appointment of the Rev. C. Rankin Barnes, D.D., Secretary of the General Convention, to its membership, and by the members he has been elected secretary of the Commission.

Dr. Barnes is well known throughout the Church as the very efficient Secretary of the General Convention and of the National Council. He should be well known to, and appreciated by, readers of the Magazine as a valued contributor to its columns. The issue of June 1949, was entirely written by him, and later published as a bound volume by the Church Historical Society, under the title, *The General Convention Offices and Officers, 1785-1950*, as Publication No. 33 (Philadelphia, 1951) pp. 148.

Dr. Barnes is currently working on a biography of a great missionary Bishop, Ethelbert Talbot (1848-1928), first bishop of Wyoming and Idaho, 1887-1898; bishop of Bethlehem, 1898-1928; and Presiding Bishop, 1924-1926. Anyone having letters written by Bishop Talbot will help in this worthy project by communicating with Dr. Barnes at 281 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

W. H. S.

Publications of the Dalcho Historical Society

IN THE JUNE, 1952 issue of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, we commended the "Dalcho Historical Society of the Diocese of South Carolina" as an example to other dioceses. It is, as far as we know, the only diocesan society of its kind. Under date of January 21, 1953, its president, George W. Williams, announces a series of publications in local Church history. The first titles are:

- (1) *The Episcopal Church on Edisto Island*, by Albert S. Thomas.
- (2) *A Short History of the Diocese of South Carolina*.

(3) *The Pre-Revival of the Episcopal Church in South Carolina, 1785-1820*, by William H. Patterson.

(4) *The Reverend James Warley Miles*, by George W. Williams.

Copies of these monographs may be obtained from the Society at the Diocesan House, 138 Wentworth Street, Charleston.

This is a record of considerable accomplishment in such a short time since its organization. More power to it!

W. H. S.

The Historiographer of the Diocese of Connecticut

ANOTHER encouraging development on the diocesan level is the appearance of the above-named organ, two issues of which have come to our desk. It is published by Dr. Kenneth W. Cameron, archivist and historiographer, P. O. Box 1080, Hartford 1, at \$2 per year; back issues, 50c. In issue No. 2, November, 1952, "Through the Editor's Window" states:

"This and forthcoming issues will discuss resources for research in diocesan history. The indexes of the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE of the Protestant Episcopal Church* are rich with names of early priests and laity, parishes and missions. Next to the *Inventory of the Church Archives of Connecticut: Protestant Episcopal* (prepared by the Connecticut Historical Records Survey under Dr. Nelson Burr in 1940), the *H M* is one of our most important guides."

The same issue devotes two and one-half pages to listing 74 items in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE's* first twenty volumes in two groups: (1) Bibliographical Aids—18 items, and (2) Articles Dealing with the Diocese of Connecticut—56 items. Although we thought we were quite familiar with the contents of the Magazine's twenty volumes, we were frankly startled to find so many articles of use to one diocese in the Church, although that diocese is historically one of the most distinguished.

This issue of the *Connecticut Historiographer* contains several other interesting items. It reproduces a letter from Bishop Thomas Church Brownell, under date of August 30, 1823, concerning Washington (now Trinity) College, which had recently obtained its charter; a letter from Bishop Seabury, August 12, 1785, authorizing changes in the Prayer Book; a letter from the Rev. George Pigot, April 23, 1722, written from New York, to the Anglicans in Stratford, to which place the S. P. G. had assigned him; a tribute to Dr. Arthur Adams, professor and librarian emeritus of Trinity College, Hartford, and now "librarian,

editor and historian" of the New England Historic Genealogical Society of Boston; and others too numerous to mention here.

Immediately upon receiving this issue, we wrote Dr. Cameron our congratulations. Part of his reply was as follows:

"We both know how much is at stake in this business of collecting and recording. It is a lonely task—and menial—but tremendously important. The greatest miracle I know of—or one of them at least—is the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. *Ad multos annos!*"

W. H. S.

The Troubles of an Editor!

WHEN THE SLIP GETS BY

The typographical error is a slippery thing and sly,
 You can hunt until you are dizzy, but it somehow will get by.
 Till the forms are off the presses it is strange how still it keeps;
 It shrinks down into a corner and it never stirs or peeps.
 That typographical error, too small for human eyes,
 Till the ink is on the paper, when it grows to mountain size.
 The boss, he stares with horror, then he grabs his hair and groans;
 The copy reader drops his head upon his hands and moans—
 The remainder of the issue may be clean as clean can be,
 But that typographical error is the only thing you see.

—From the *Farmer's Almanac*, 1953.

Notice to Libraries and Others Desiring Back Numbers of *Historical Magazine*!

By arrangement with the Church Historical Society, 4205 Spruce Street, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania, positive microfilm copies of any issue of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE can be obtained by anyone who wishes them for the cost of reproduction and shipment. If such are wanted write to the Librarian, the Rev. William W. Manross, Ph. D., at the above address. This includes Volumes I to XXI.

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is *unable* to supply complete volumes of I to X. Volume I (1932) and II (1933) have long been unavailable. This is the best solution we can offer to those who wish a complete file from the beginning.

—THE EDITORS.

The Organization of The Episcopal Church in Tennessee

By Edgar Legare Pennington*

IN 1769, several cabins were built along the Holston and Watauga rivers upon what was thought to be Virginia soil. Though wandering explorers and fur traders had visited the eastern portion of Tennessee much earlier, no white settlers had effected a permanent settlement in the region. In the next few years, there were other settlements planted; in 1772, the Watauga Association was formed; land was secured from the Indians in vast tracts; in 1776, the territory was annexed to North Carolina as the Washington District. When the aforesaid district became Washington County the following year, it was coextensive with the present state of Tennessee. Among the North Carolinians who composed these earlier settlements, there were many Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. They welcomed preachers of their own faith, such as the Rev. Charles Cummins, who held a meeting in Watauga as early as 1777. Next year, Tidance Lane, a Baptist, and Jeremiah Lambert, a Methodist, visited the East Tennessee settlements.¹ The Methodists proved more successful in early Tennessee than the Presbyterians or the Baptists.

The circuit system was introduced into Tennessee by Francis Asbury, when he organized the first Methodist conference west of the Alleghenies at Half Acres. That system, among the Protestant groups, had no equal for effective evangelization of a backwoods people. The circuit rider, equipped with his Bible and hymn book, rode the wilderness tracts to isolated settlements and farmsteads, sharing the life of the people and speaking to them in their own language. The Methodists also had lay or local preachers, who worked on the land six days in the week and served without pay.²

Jonesboro, the first town in Tennessee, was established in 1779. James Robertson (1742-1814), a native of Virginia, set out with a small

*The Rev. Dr. Pennington (January 15, 1891-December 10, 1951), historiographer of the Church, 1949-1951, sent this article to us for publication before his death.—*Editor's Note.*

¹*Tennessee: A Guide to the State*, Federal Writers Project (New York: Viking Press, 1939), p. 111.

²*Ibid.*

party in 1778 to prepare the way for permanent occupation. He arrived at French Lick (so named from a French trading post established there) in 1779; and the same year a number of settlers from Virginia and South Carolina arrived. Another party, led by John Donelson, arrived in 1780. After the close of the War of Independence, the immigrants poured in rapidly. A form of government, similar to the Watauga Association, was devised, and block houses were built for defence against the Indians.

In 1780, the Rev. Samuel Doak, a pioneer evangelist, preached at Salem. Martin Academy (Doak's School), established at Monette, was the first institution of higher learning in the Mississippi Valley. It was chartered in 1783.

On April 24, 1780, John Donelson and his party reached Nashborough, after a most hazardous journey. The new settlement soon consisted of seven stations or forts along the Cumberland River, with a total population of three hundred. It was called "Fort Nashborough," in honour of General Francis Nash, a Revolutionary War veteran. In 1784, the North Carolina Legislature set aside a 250-acre site on the west side of the Cumberland River, which included Fort Nashborough and the other stations. It was named "Nashville," because of the prejudice against the English-sounding "Nashborough." Settlers came in great numbers along the Wilderness Road to the new town. In 1787, Nashville's first newspaper, the *Tennessee Gazette and Mero District Advertiser*, was established by a Kentucky printer named Henkle. Two years later, the *Rights of Man*, or the *Nashville Intelligencer*, a weekly newspaper, was published.³ By 1790, Nashville was a trade and manufacturing centre, with mills, foundries, and gun smithies. A plant for the manufacture of cotton spinning machinery and a spinning mill was established.

After the War of Independence, the legislature of North Carolina offered (1784) to cede its western territory to the National government, provided the cession should be accepted within two years. The Watauga settlers, indignant at this transfer without their consent, and fearing lest they be left without any form of government whatsoever, called a convention, which met at Jonesboro, August 23, 1784. Delegates were appointed to a subsequent convention, which was to be called for the purpose of forming another state. Meanwhile, North Carolina repealed the act of cession, and created the western counties into a new judicial district. The second convention, set for November, broke up in confusion without accomplishing anything; but a third adopted a constitution, which was submitted to the people, and ordered

³*Ibid.*, p. 181-182.

the election of a legislative body. Thus, on December 14, 1784, the State of Franklin was established.⁴ The government of Franklin did not finally collapse until March 1788. On December 22, 1789, North Carolina ceded its western lands to the United States. The territorial population of what is now included in Tennessee amounted to 1790 to 35,691.

On February 25, 1790, North Carolina again ceded the territory to the federal government. Congress accepted the cession; and on May 26 passed an act for the government of the United States "South of the River Ohio." William Blount was appointed territorial governor. "The chief events of Blount's administration were the contests with the Indians, the purchase of their lands, and the struggle against Spanish influence."⁵ Indian hostilities, some of them very bloody and disastrous, marked the closing years of the eighteenth century.

In 1796, a convention called for the task of drafting a state constitution met in Knoxville, a town which had recently been laid out. The instrument, which closely followed the North Carolina constitution, was proclaimed without submission to popular vote. The first General Assembly of Tennessee met at Knoxville on March 29; and the first state governor, John Sevier, was inaugurated the following day. On March 31, the first United States senators were elected. Tennessee was admitted into the Union as the sixteenth state, June 1, 1796.

The population reached 105,602 in the year 1800. Then a great religious revival swept the state. "With the rapid increase of population, the dread of Indian and Spaniard declined. Churches and schools were built and soon many of the comforts and some of the luxuries of life made their appearance."⁶

At first, none of the religious bodies was strong enough to influence considerably the lives of the settlers. Most of those hardy men had been long out of touch with civilization. Lorenzo Dow (1777-1834), the Methodist evangelist, declared that Tennessee was "a Sink of Iniquity, a Black Pit of Irreligion." The grind of daily life in the wilderness required some violent emotional outlet, which the settler usually found in drinking and dissipation. He was not likely to adopt any religion which did not provide a release for his emotions. This accounted for both the form and the success of the Great Revival, a wave of mass hysteria which swept the western frontier in the early part of the nineteenth century.

⁴*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., XXVI, 623-624.

⁵*Ibid.*, XXVI, 624.

⁶*Ibid.*

The revival had its beginnings in services known as camp meetings. Many preachers began holding their services in the open fields, whither from miles and miles around the people came, bringing their food, their children and slaves and dogs. In the summer of 1800, the preaching of one James McGready in the Red River section of southern Kentucky made such an impression, that preachers flocked from central Kentucky and Tennessee to assist him. Afterwards they returned home enthusiastic over his methods. One of them, William McGee, a Methodist, persuaded the Baptists and Presbyterians to join him in a meeting at Drake's Creek, in middle Tennessee. The venture was successful. Various preachers who visited Drake's Creek organized similar meetings. From those, in turn, new evangelists scattered; and the movement spread like an epidemic, with camp meetings springing up everywhere. "Farmers left their plowing, merchants their shops, drovers their herds, and blacksmiths their forges, to attend." The meetings went on for days, often for weeks. The evangelists preached hell-fire and brimstone, while the congregations leaped and rolled on the ground, pounded each other, wept, moaned, and screamed.⁷

The Cumberland Presbytery of middle Tennessee had been very active in the revival and had tripled its membership in the first year. Hence there were not enough men with the required education to meet the sudden demand for preachers. In 1802, the Cumberland Presbytery began licensing as pastors men of little or no education. This practice was severely criticized by the Presbyterians of the East. Another source of discord was the Wesleyan flavor, which had crept into the doctrine preached by the Tennessee Presbyterians because of their close association with the Methodist revivalists. On these and other points, the Cumberland Presbytery was voted out of the main body in 1809. Attempts at reconciliation failed; and a year later, the middle Tennessee congregations met in Dickson County and formed the "Cumberland Presbyterian Church."⁸

In 1810, the population of Tennessee had grown to 261,727. The following year, the Bank of the State of Tennessee was established. The legislature convened in Nashville for the first time in 1812. In 1819, the first steamboat arrived in Nashville. The *Manumission Intelligencer*, later the *Emancipator*, the first anti-slavery paper in the United States, was published at Jonesboro in 1819. By 1820, the population had reached 422,823.

On May 4, 1822, the Rev. George Thomas Chapman, of Lexington, Kentucky, wrote to the newly founded Domestic and Foreign Mis-

⁷ *Tennessee: A Guide to the State*, pp. 111-113.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

sionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, recommending Nashville as a promising missionary station. "The State is at present entirely destitute of the ministry of the Church," he said; "and as (Nashville) is the principal town, having several Episcopalian families of great respectability, the Society will readily perceive the propriety of locating a missionary there."⁹

The population of Tennessee continued to extend westward. In 1823, the *Pioneer*, the first newspaper in west Tennessee, was established at Jackson. In 1826, the *Memphis Advocate* began publication.

In January 1826, the Rev. James Hervey Otey, who had been ordered deacon by Bishop John S. Ravenscroft of North Carolina on October 16 of the preceding year, removed to Tennessee, and settled in Franklin, eighteen miles from Nashville. There he took charge of an academy, and performed divine services occasionally at both Nashville and Columbia. Otey was born in Bedford County, Virginia, one of a family of twelve children. At the age of twenty, he graduated from the University of North Carolina, where he remained as instructor in Greek and Latin. Since he had to lead daily prayers in the chapel and showed some embarrassment, a friend gave him a copy of the Book of Common Prayer, the first he had ever seen. He married in 1821; and took charge of an academy at Warrenton, Virginia. There he was baptized by the Rev. William Mercer Green (afterwards bishop of Mississippi). Bishop John Stark Ravenscroft confirmed him, and ordained him both deacon and priest. Settling in Franklin, Tennessee,

⁹*Proceedings of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society*, 1823, p. 44.

NASHVILLE (altitude 498 ft.), seat of Davidson County, extends raggedly on both banks of the Cumberland River. The first Indians encountered by white explorers in its vicinity were the Shawnees, a small wandering band of Algonquian stock, whose palisaded villages occupied the bluffs along the river.

In 1767, five "Long Hunters" (so called because they spent months on hunting expeditions) entered the valley from east Tennessee; they returned with glowing tales of its fertility. In 1770, Kasper Mansker organized and led another party of "Long Hunters" through the Cumberland country in quest of spots for settlement.

Richard Henderson, one of the greatest land speculators of his period, was granted 200,000 acres, part of which lay in the Cumberland Valley. In 1779, he sent James Robertson, "the Father of Tennessee," to investigate the "Long Hunters'" reports and to blaze the way for a land-promotion scheme. Robertson selected a site at French Lick; he and his party built a few cabins and planted corn in Sulphu Bottom near the Lick. The tract was purchased, title being given to Robertson as trustee for the community.

In 1779, the return trip to the new settlement began.

The new settlement consisted of seven stations or forts with a population of 300. The French Lick station was named Fort Nashborough. The name was changed to Nashville. In 1806, Nashville was chartered as a city. The state legislature met there from 1812 to 1817, and from 1827 to 1843 (when it became the state capital). With the coming of the first steamboat in 1818, Nashville entered upon a profitable era of river trade. The population in 1825 was 3460.—*Tennessee: A Guide to the State*, pp. 181-182.

he opened a school, serving as both pastor and missionary, as we have noted.¹⁰

On November 1, 1826, a laymen of Tennessee wrote to the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, as follows:

"When I reflect upon the sad state of the Church of the living God amongst the numerous and interesting people in the West, I am lost in astonishment at their alarmingly destitute condition. Large sections of country may be found, including an extensive and respectable population, who have not since their settlement enjoyed the blessings of a regularly preached gospel. Here we find many families without the word of God. Here we find a numerous people without grace in their hearts, and nearly destitute of the ordinary means of grace. In place of keeping the Sabbath day holy, they are found bold in profaning it. Being deprived of the rich privilege of assembling themselves together every Lord's Day, and hearing the faithful minister of Jesus preach to them the glad tidings of salvation, they become unmindful of their duty, and are found guilty of spending the day not only in idleness but in open dissipation."

Episcopalians, he said, had no clergyman or church even in the metropolis of the state. In Nashville there were about forty families attached to the Episcopal Church, many being "our most respectable and wealthy citizens."

"We have organized ourselves into a church, under the name of Christ Church, and have elected two wardens and six vestrymen. The lower part of the Masonic Hall still serves our little band as a place for worship. A meeting of the wardens and vestry will be called in a few weeks to appoint a committee for making an effort to raise funds for the erection of a church. Although a church is greatly wanted, still we are in greater want of a settled minister."

¹⁰Charles L. Wells, "James Hervey Otey," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV, 90-91.

FRANKLIN (altitude 642 ft.), seat of Williamson County, is surrounded by fertile farms. Edward Swanson was the first known white settler in the beautiful hills of the West Harpeth. It is believed that he left Fort Nashborough and settled on his homestead sometime between 1790 and 1800; the foundation for his home had been laid by March 1780.

The John Eaton Home is the former residence of John H. Eaton and his wife, Peggy Eaton, who was the storm centre of social and political Washington during the first administration of Andrew Jackson. The elderly Eaton, whom Jackson appointed Secretary of War, married Peggy O'Neale, the daughter of a Washington tavern-keeper. Jackson, remembering the attacks on his wife Rachel, who had recently died, treated Peggy with great courtesy and frowned on those who snubbed her.

St. Paul's Church, two blocks west of the square, is a small, delightful brick structure, with a square tower and hand-finished interior woodwork, built by the Rev. J. H. Otey.

Franklin was the scene of one of the bloodiest battles of the Civil War (Nov. 30, 1864).—*Tennessee: A Guide to the State*, pp. 377-378.

After stating what had been started in Nashville, the laymen surveyed the western field:

"The western district is a wide extent of rich land, situated between the Tennessee and Mississippi Rivers, which has mostly been settled within the last four or five years, and principally by emigrants from Virginia and North Carolina, many of whom have been raised in, and warmly attached to our Church, and are excessively anxious to enjoy the benefits of her ministry. In place of the forest-trees, towns are rapidly growing up. It is stated that a number of families are settled so contiguous to each other, that a church could soon be organized, and they would contribute towards the support of a minister."¹¹

The Rev. John Davis, who had been ordered deacon by Bishop William White, December 23, 1825, was appointed by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, in November 1826, to visit Tennessee, "and to locate himself in any situation in that state which might accord with his own views of usefulness, and the prosperity of the Church." He first settled in Knoxville, where he remained for some time. At first he received considerable encouragement.¹²

"Several factors account for the late coming of the Episcopalians to Tennessee. . . . Many of the first settlers were Scotch-Irish of the Covenanter strain, with a heritage of enmity towards the established Church of England. In Revolutionary times, the Over-Mountain people identified the Episcopal Church with the Royalist cause. Nor did the Church authorities take advantage of the Great Revival; erudite and conservative, they frowned on the spectacular emotionalism of the movement. In Tennessee, the Protestant Episcopal Church gained most of its communicants in towns and cities and among the well-to-do land-owners."¹³

A year after his appointment, Davis (November 12, 1827) reported to the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society that he had organized a church in Knoxville on Easter Monday, and held services twice a Sunday. His forenoon congregations were small; in the afternoon, however, they were as large as the courthouse would accommodate. There was some talk of building a church. He had baptized only three since his arrival:

"Though many are willing to follow the crowd to church, but few are willing to take up their cross and follow Christ;

¹¹*Church Register*, Philadelphia, I, 47 (Nov. 25, 1826), 373-374.

¹²*Proceedings of the Board of Directors of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society*, May 13, 1828, p. 30.

¹³*Tennessee: A Guide to the State*, p. 115.

and such is the lamentable state of all the societies in this place."

Mr. Davis had visited Kingston,¹⁴ Columbia,¹⁵ Franklin, and Nashville, besides Knoxville.¹⁶ In each he had found some old Episcopalians, who seemed gratified at again having an opportunity of hearing the service of the Church. At Columbia, "a number of families of wealth and influence, who would receive a missionary very joyfully and treat him with great kindness," had been discovered. At Columbia, the people are building a Masonic Hall; the lower floor is to be fitted out as a church. The prospects of the Church in Nashville, said Mr. Davis, were "very much blasted for the present."¹⁷

¹⁴KINGSTON (altitude 831 ft.), the seat of Roane County, was a busy place in 1800, because it was at the eastern end of the Walton Road, which ran to Nashville. Nearby was a small frontier military post. In 1807, Kingston was considered as a site for the state capital; the legislature met there one day, Sept. 21. The Morgan House was constructed about 1810 by Col. Gideon Morgan. The Post Oak Christian Church, 7 miles away, is the first of the Campbellite denomination in Tennessee. It was organized in 1813.—*Tennessee: A Guide to the State*, pp. 437-438.

¹⁵COLUMBIA (650 ft.), seat of Maury County, was built on the low limestone bluffs of the Duck River in a region of fertile farmlands, bluegrass meadows, and rolling wooded hills. First settled, 1807. One of the earliest newspapers in Tennessee, *The Western Chronicle*, was founded in Columbia in 1811. Several Indian scares and a series of earthquakes the same year. The Samuel Polk Home, built 1816, was built by the father of James K. Polk, 11th President of the United States. The James K. Polk Home, a 2-story frame residence, square with a gable roof, was built by James K. Polk in the 1820's.—*Ibid.*, pp. 275-276.

¹⁶KNOXVILLE (altitude 933 ft.), seat of Knox County, on the broad but rather shallow Tennessee River, which is formed 4 miles east of the downtown section by the junction of the Holston and French Broad Rivers. The city extends fanwise from the river banks into the nearby hills, with the Cillhowee and the Great Smoky Mountains in the distant background.

The first recorded journey by Anglo-Americans through the region of the present Knoxville was made in 1761, when Ensign Henry Timberlake, Sgt. Thomas Sumter, and John McCormack, an interpreter, came on a good will mission to the Overhill Cherokees. In 1779, the flotilla of Col. John Donelson passed down the river on the voyage to the Cumberland settlement. In the summer of 1783, James White, a former captain in the Continental Army; Robert Love, a Revolutionary soldier; F. A. Ramsey, a surveyor, explored the Knoxville region, looking for land on which to enter claim.

In 1785, the State of Franklin established Sevier and Caswell counties, including the Knoxville area in the latter county. The Dumplin Treaty between the Franklin government and the Cherokees was signed, and new hordes of settlers poured into east Tennessee. In 1786, Capt. James White built a cabin and became the first permanent settler of Knoxville. He added other cabins which he connected by a palisade of logs, making a frontier outpost, called "White's Fort."

During the next five years, settlers, claiming the land which North Carolina was giving as a bonus to its Revolutionary soldiers, flocked into the region. White's Fort became a repair and re-stocking point for westbound wagon trains. Wm. Blount, commissioned governor of the Territory South of the River Ohio, established his headquarters at White's settlement (1790). At Blount's suggestion, Capt. White laid out streets; and the new town was named Knoxville in honour of Maj. Gen. Henry Knox, Secretary of War.

In 1792, Knox County was laid off from parts of what was then Greene and Hawkins Counties. The town grew rapidly; in the last years of the 18th Cen-

On April 8, 1828, Davis wrote to the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society that the prospects of building a church at Knoxville seem removed to some distant period:

"One of my old wardens still walks his ten miles to church, though he has now reached the age of threescore and ten."

There were some encouraging signs, yet there were few Episcopalians in east Tennessee.

"There are few places where more than two or three can be gathered together who know anything of the Church."

The prospects in Columbia were brighter, he said. Mr. James H. Piper, president of the college there, contemplated preparing himself for holy orders. He (Davis) had been urged to move to Columbia, and had decided to go there. He contemplated attending Nashville occasionally as that town was much in need of a minister. In fact, a minister might receive almost his support at Clarksville, on the Cumberland River;¹⁸ and one would receive much encouragement at Pu-

tury, it was a frontier jumping-off place, with grog shops and taverns, smithies and harness shops; it was a rowdy resort of teamsters and flatboatmen, soldiers, and westward-bound emigrants. The Knoxville *Gazette*, a weekly newspaper, was established in 1791. The only Indian scare was in Sept. 1793; but Capt. White organized the citizens, and the Indians did not attack. A ferry to the settlements south of the Tennessee River began operations in 1793. The first Presbyterian church was organized that year. In 1795, a post office with semi-monthly mail service to Washington was inaugurated, and a wagon road from Knoxville to Nashville was completed.

Knoxville was Tennessee's first capital (1796), and so continued till 1812. The legislature convened again at Knoxville in 1817, and remained there 2 years. James Weir, who visited Knoxville in 1798, wrote:

"It was County Court day when I came. I saw men jesting, singing, swearing; women yelling from doorways; half-naked Negroes playing on their banjos, while the crowd whooped and danced around them. Whiskey and peach brandy were cheap. The town was confused with a promiscuous throng of every denomination—blanket-clad Indians, leather-shirted woodsmen, gamblers, hard-eyed and vigilant. My soul shrank to hear the horrid oaths and dreadful indignities. . . . There was what I never did see before, viz., on Sunday, dancing, singing, and playing cards."

Knoxville was often plagued by outlaws, such as the Harpe brothers. Among the town's first industrial establishments were grist mills, sawmills, tanyards, cotton-spinning factories, wool-carding mills, a brass foundry. Steamboat navigation was inaugurated as early as 1828. The growth of the town was relatively slow.—*Ibid.*, pp. 234-236.

¹⁷*Proceedings . . . Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society*, May 13, 1828, p. 30.

¹⁸CLARKSVILLE (444 ft. altitude), seat of Montgomery County, in a tobacco-growing district, and on a peninsula at the confluence of the Cumberland and Red Rivers. Settlement not made until 1784, when Col. John Montgomery and Col. Martin Armstrong filed papers for 200 acres in this vicinity. In autumn, 1784, two men platted a town, and called it Clarksville for Gen. George Rogers Clark, with whom Montgomery had fought in the Northwestern Campaign. The

laski.¹⁹ Two missionaries might be employed in the western district.²⁰

Davis finally moved to Nashville in 1828. The same year, the Rev. Mr. Otey wrote the Society:

"I do not know any section of country, which opens so interesting a field for the labours of ministers of our Church, as many parts of this State. I feel well assured, sir, that if the Missionary Society were in possession of full and accurate information as to the prospects of the Church in this country, how important exertion is at present to our future prosperity; how unavailing all our efforts will probably be a short time hence, when our dissenting brethren shall have taken quiet possession of all the strongholds, and the attachment of the friends of the Church becomes weakened, and their hopes extinguished; I cannot but think that you (our eastern brethren), to whom, under God, we look for help, would feel impelled, perhaps obliged, and certainly encouraged, to use more than ordinary efforts to aid and assist us in this our time of greatest need.

"In the tide of emigration which has been rolling westward for forty years past, many Episcopalians have crossed the mountains, and found resting spots in the bosoms of the western forests. Many of these have attached themselves to the Presbyterians, Methodists, &c., but would gladly return to the fold in which they were originally nurtured and fed. Others looking for consolation and comfort in their Bibles and Prayer Books, have stood here the solitary but solemn mementos of the Church of their fathers, and have continued to hope even against hope that God would at last hear their sighs and groans; would search out His sheep wandering in the wilderness; would remember the promise made to His little flock, and bring them into the rich pastures of His own providing.

"In every part of the country I have visited, I have found an Episcopal family in such circumstances; and of late, their numbers, particularly in that part of the State lying west of the Tennessee River, have been greatly augmented by emigrants from North Carolina and Virginia."

During the past year, Mr. Otey had preached at Columbia once a month, where he had found every prospect of building up a respectable congregation. Mr. Piper, president of the college, had been com-

town grew slowly before the river bridges were built. For many years, ferries were in use, the boats being propelled by a team of blind mules. Cultivation of tobacco began with the first settlement. The *Leaf Chronicle*, a daily newspaper, established in 1808, is one of the oldest periodicals in the State.—*Tennessee: A Guide to the State*, p. 494.

¹⁹PULASKI (649 ft. altitude), seat of Giles County, was named for Count Casimir Pulaski of Poland, who aided the colonists.—*Ibid.*, p. 381.

²⁰*Proceedings . . . Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society*, May 13, 1828, pp. 30-31.

missioned as a lay reader by the bishop of North Carolina. Mr. Davis believed that a congregation might be readily built up at Mount Pleasant, a very agreeable little village ten or twelve miles from Columbia; and Otey wished to see a clergyman settled in that quarter. Being encumbered with a large school, which he was compelled to keep in order to support his family, and mindful of his obligation to his own interesting and growing congregation, Mr. Otey would not be able to undertake the work at Mount Pleasant. In the western district, that is, the section lying between the Tennessee and Mississippi Rivers, he doubted not, from reliable information, that there would be no difficulty in forming a respectable congregation:

"A church established at Nashville would exert a powerful and a most beneficial influence on all the surrounding country. It is, at present, the emporium of commerce for much the largest portion of this State, and considerably so for parts of Kentucky and Alabama. It is, also, the seat of learning, and the focus at which is concentrated the greatest amount of talent in all the learned professions. The place is growing with almost unexampled rapidity. Five years ago, the population was reckoned at something like three or four thousand; it may now be set down at nearly triple that number. The transactions in business may be estimated at about \$5,000,000 annually."

As to the state in general, Mr. Otey concluded:

"The truth is, all the circumstances considered under which the people of this country have been obliged to form settlements and provide for their families, the moral strength which pervades the community is much greater than might reasonably be expected, and there is, perhaps, no part of the United States where the improvements of civilized life are advancing with a more steady and secure step than in West Tennessee. The population is an active, industrious, and enterprising one. A man in this country thinks no more of taking a journey of five hundred or a thousand miles than one in Virginia does of 150 or 200. The consequence is, that everything presents a thriving and improving appearance. Every foot of cleared land is under cultivation, and every log cabin in the country is filled with inmates. In this part of the State, for fifty miles round, the improvements are as good as in any part of Virginia or North Carolina with which I am acquainted."²¹

Before settling on Nashville, Davis stopped awhile in Columbia. On the Monday after his arrival there, a congregation was organized with the assistance of Otey, under circumstances which were thought

²¹*Quarterly Papers of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society*, IV (Dec. 1828), 27-29.

to be auspicious. He held some services at Mount Pleasant, which he had hoped to build into a respectable congregation; but he felt that the duty he owed his family compelled him to move. His sacrifices had been not only to his health but also of a pecuniary nature. He wrote from Columbia:

"My family have not enjoyed one day's health since my arrival here."

He had lost his only child—a baby girl. His salary from the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society barely sufficed for his doctor's bills. He had not received the first cent for his services as a clergyman since he arrived in Tennessee.²²

On October 28, 1828, he informed the Society that he had decided to remain in the service. Writing from Nashville, he said:

"I wish to give the building up a congregation in this place a fair experiment; and if I should succeed to that extent, that the prospects of the Church might seem to depend upon my remaining, I should feel it my duty to do so, particularly as they have been subject to so many disappointments heretofore. The prospects of the Church have brightened very much within the last few weeks."

Mr. Davis felt that, if he had succeeded in getting to Nashville when he first arrived in the state, a church would have been already built.²³

The people of Nashville were glad to have Mr. Davis in their midst. On March 2, 1829, the vestry of the congregation there wrote to the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society that Mr. Davis had been with them for the last four or five months, performing divine service and preaching as a missionary:

"He has been zealous and attentive in the discharge of his duties; and the number of persons attending church has increased considerably during the winter."

There were twelve or fourteen families in Nashville and vicinity who were Episcopalians; and the congregations consisted of from forty to fifty:

"There are many persons in Nashville and in different parts of the country, who have been Episcopalians, and who would probably in a short period again unite with them, if the con-

²²*Proceedings . . . Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society*, May 12, 1829, pp. 31-32.

²³*Ibid.*, p. 32.

gregation was perfectly organized and regular services performed."²⁴

In 1829, Bishop John Stark Ravenscroft of North Carolina visited the state of Tennessee, and organized the Church there. Having received a very pressing invitation from the Episcopal congregations to visit them, for the purpose of performing Episcopal duties and for the general advantage of the Church in the West, he left his home, June 13, 1829, in the public stage. He found his journey to Nashville "as pleasant as the kind of conveyance and the nature of the roads would permit":

"These are very rough in the limestone country, and made the more so by a practice of driving rapidly down every hill, no matter how steep, rough, and rocky it may be; and in west Tennessee, where the limestone strata are horizontal, the slopes are like the steps of stairs, from the alternate layers of the rock and a thin decomposition of soil, which has been washed away by the rains."

Bishop Ravenscroft found the accommodations "uniformly good," and the charges moderate. With a few exceptions, the meals cost only 25 cents, and they were "good and plentiful." The people were "orderly and civil in their deportment, and certainly more civilized and intelligent in their appearance and conversation than the same class of men in Virginia and North Carolina." He met with only one drunken man in Tennessee; and he was a northern man, who boarded the stage for Knoxville and took very kindly the reproof and admonition which the bishop felt it his duty to impart.

"So far as my very hurried opportunity may serve for the ground of an opinion, I think the population of east Tennessee preferable upon the whole. The country is more of a farming country, and the habits more domestic, and attentive to domestic accommodations. The little county seats are neither as large nor as well built as in west Tennessee, but there are more farms, more meadows, more stock, and fewer black people to be seen. It is more like the southwestern part of Pennsylvania, through which I subsequently travelled.

"I had no opportunity of ascertaining the religious condition of the people. There are of all the religious denominations among them; but the bulk of the people, it is to be feared, as everywhere in the United States, perhaps in Christendom, have no visible connection with the gospel."

Bishop Ravenscroft reached Nashville, June 25. There he met Mr. Davis. Next day he was gratified by the arrival of the Rev. Dan-

²⁴*Proceedings . . . Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society*, May 12, 1829, pp. 32-33.

iel Stephens, who had come to Tennessee to take charge of the female academy in Columbia.²⁵ On June 27, Mr. Otey appeared. Thus all three of the Tennessee clergymen were gathered together at Nashville, and arrangements could be made for the forthcoming primary convention of the Episcopal Church.

Having no Episcopal place of worship, the ministers held services for the next five days in the meeting-houses kindly offered them by the ministers of the various denominations. "All of (them) were earnest in pressing our use of them—the Methodists in particular." The bishop preached several times, and confirmed six persons. He administered the Holy Communion to more than thirty, "a majority of whom were of other denominations."

"All our services, particularly those more directly Episcopal, are noticed with a very intense interest; but here, as alas is the case throughout, preaching is the greatest attraction—to hear preaching is considered the sum and substance of religion."²⁶

On July 1 and 2, 1829,

"this being the day appointed by public notice for the friends and members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Tennessee, to assemble for the purpose of forming a constitution and canons, for the government and regulation of the same, a number of clergymen and lay delegates from several congregations in this State, assembled at 8 o'clock A. M., in the Masonic Hall, in the town of Nashville."²⁷

At this first convention of the Episcopal Church of Tennessee there were present, besides the bishop of North Carolina, three clergymen: the Rev. Dr. Daniel Stephens (St. Peter's, Columbia), the Rev. James Hervey Otey (St. Paul's, Franklin), and the Rev. John Davis (deacon and missionary). The following laymen attended:

NASHVILLE, Christ Church: Thomas Claiborne, George Wilson, Francis B. Fogg.

COLUMBIA, St. Peter's: James H. Piper.

KNOXVILLE, St. John's: G. M. Fogg.

FRANKLIN, St. Paul's: Thomas Maney, P. N. Smith, B. S. Tappan, William Hardeman.

²⁵DANIEL STEPHENS (1778-1850), a native of Licking Creek, Bedford County, Pennsylvania, graduated with first honours from Jefferson College; studied at Princeton. Had a distinguished career.—See W. B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit*, pp. 519-525.

²⁶*The Protestant Episcopalian and Church Register*, Philadelphia, I, viii (Aug. 1830), 311-312.

²⁷*Journal of the Proceedings of a Meeting of the Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the State of Tennessee*, Nashville, 1829, p. 1.

It was moved that a committee draft a constitution and a body of canons; the committee appointed for the purpose consisted of the three clergymen and of Messrs. Piper and Fogg. There was also a committee to draft rules of order. Bishop Ravenscroft took the chair.

The Rev. Mr. Otey reported in behalf of the committee on the state of the Church:

"From what, however, has been effected within a few years past, by the exertions of a few who have stepped forward, and under the most discouraging circumstances lent their aid to advance the interests of religion and virtue among us, we may form the most pleasing anticipation of future success. A few years since, and the Episcopal Church was hardly known in this State; her spirit-stirring liturgy was unheard within our borders. Now three altars have arisen, and it is cheering to know that they are crowded by pious and devoted worshippers of the Most High God."

He believed that "but few years will intervene before our beloved Church will flourish in the western part of our country to the extent of the wishes of the most ardent of her followers."

was elected; and deputies were chosen to attend the next session of the General Convention.²⁸

During Bishop Ravenscroft's short stay in Nashville, he was greatly "delighted and encouraged by the interest manifested among the members and friends of the Church, for the advancement of religion, and for the attainment of regular and fixed services for the congregation." The vestry had started raising funds for building a church edifice and had authorized the bishop to engage a clergyman with the assurance of \$800 salary.

"And, praised be God, not a few of their chief men seem to be very seriously impressed with the public and private opportunities I have been furnished, to press upon their consciences the plain and simple truths of Christ's religion, and particularly the commanding truth that no benefit can be expected from the undertaking of the Son of God for the salvation of sinners, unless the sinners He died to save do openly embrace the gospel, become members of His visible Church, and conform in heart and life to the conditions on which He promises eternal life to all His faithful followers."

The day after the adjournment of the convention, the bishop left for Franklin in order to visit Mr. Otey's congregation. There, on July 4th, he confirmed seven persons. Next day he administered the Holy

²⁸*Journal of the Proceedings of a Meeting of the Clergy and Laity of the*

The constitution and canons were adopted; a standing committee Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Tennessee, Nashville, 1829, pp. 1-11.

Communion to sixteen, "chiefly, if not entirely, Episcopalians." He remained at Franklin four days. He held services in the Masonic Hall.

"My visit to this improving little place has been very gratifying, and proves very clearly the value of Doctor Otey's services to the Church and religion, notwithstanding he is confined and encumbered with the charge of the academy. Though the state of the weather was very unfavourable, particularly on Sunday, yet numerous and attentive congregations were present, both in the morning and at night."²⁹

On August 14, 1829, at the General Convention of the Episcopal Church, in New York City, the House of Deputies resolved, on recommendation of a committee appointed to study the application, "that the Church in the State of Tennessee be admitted into union with the General Convention." Next day, the House of Bishops concurred in the resolution. At the same time, it was proposed "that it be respectfully recommended to the Convention of the Diocese of Tennessee to repeal the proviso of the third Canon passed by that body, July 2nd, 1829, as highly inexpedient in itself, and not conformable to the principles of this church."³⁰ That canon, entitled "On the Trial of a Clergyman," provided that "either party may take an appeal to the Convention of the Diocese from the election of the Bishop." It was duly repealed in 1830.

On November 16, 1829, the connection of the Rev. Mr. Davis with the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society terminated with the close of his third year of missionary service. The sum of \$250, however, was appropriated for the work in Nashville for the year 1830.³¹ By that time, incidentally, the population of the state had reached 681,904.

Early in 1830, the Rev. George Weller, former editor of the *Church Register* and a clergyman of national prominence, accepted the call to the infant church of Nashville. In a short time after his removal there, his parishioners built the first edifice for Episcopal worship in the State of Tennessee. While living in the diocese, Dr. Weller had several theological students as members of his family, and he directed the studies of some of the most useful clergymen of the West and South.³²

The next convention of the clergy and lay delegates of Tennessee was held in the Masonic Hall at Franklin. Drs. Stephens and Weller and the Rev. Mr. Otey were present; and there were laymen from

²⁹*The Protestant Episcopal and Church Register*, Philadelphia, I, viii (Aug. 1830), 312.

³⁰*Journal of the General Convention*, Protestant Episcopal Church, 1829, pp. 18-19, 10.

³¹*Proceedings of the Board of Directors of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society*, May 11, 1830, pp. 16-17.

³²For sketch of Dr. Weller (1790-1841), see article by Joseph C. Passmore, in W. B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit*, pp. 601-605.

Nashville, Franklin, and Columbia. Dr. Stephens presided. It was resolved that it be earnestly recommended to establish Sunday schools wherever practicable.

Dr. Stephens reported that St. Peter's, Columbia, had about twelve communicants; that there was some inconvenience felt through lack of a suitable place for worship. Dr. Weller, of Christ Church, Nashville, had twenty communicants. The erection of a church edifice had been commenced in that city; and the cornerstone would be laid the following week. Mr. Otey, of St. Paul's, Franklin, stated that there were fifteen communicants in his parish; and that "the condition of the congregation has improved very much within the year past." The committee on the state of the Church resolved that the standing committee be directed to represent to the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society the present condition of the Church in Tennessee, and the ground for believing that the services of missionaries, if immediately commenced, might be attended with the happiest results. The Society was to be asked for appropriation "to such an extent as their necessities call for." Taking into consideration "the great want of clergymen in this diocese," the convention recommended that church members make it specially a subject of prayer that God would raise up "faithful men for the office and work of the ministry, in this portion of His vineyard." Forms of articles of association for congregations to adopt, before being received into union with the convention, were set forth.³³

On July 5, 1830, the cornerstone of the new church, to be erected in Nashville, was laid. On arriving at the site of the proposed structure, the Rev. George Weller commenced with prayer. He took a small box, on which was inscribed "Christ Church, Nashville, founded 1830," and deposited therein a copy of the Holy Scriptures, several small coins, and a scroll. He delivered an address, and a hymn was sung.³⁴

A letter was received in September 1830 by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, from the standing committee of the diocese of Tennessee, setting forth the condition and prospects of the Church and exhibiting grounds of belief that the services of missionaries would bring the happiest results. It was stated that Knoxville, Clarksville, Murfreesborough, LaGrange, Bolivar, Jackson, and Paris should be supplied with ministers. Most of those places were represented as important and flourishing towns, with families definitely attached to the Church but long without the ordinances of religion. The executive

³³*Journal of the Proceedings of the Second Convention of the Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Tennessee, 1830*, pp. 3-11.

³⁴*The Protestant Episcopalian and Church Register*, Philadelphia, I, viii (Aug. 1830), 320; *Christ Church, Nashville, 1829-1929*, (Nashville: Marshall & Bruce Co., 1929) pp. 65-66.

committee of the Society resolved to appropriate \$500 to be divided equally between any two of the above-mentioned stations, on condition that no money should be drawn unless a missionary be actually appointed by the standing committee and prepared to enter upon his duties, that each missionary report quarterly to the executive committee, and that the standing committee make a statement annually to the Society of their view of the progress of the missions under their direction.³⁵

On December 6, 1830, Dr. Weller reported to the Society that he had been "constantly engaged in parochial duty" since his last report. He had baptized a young lady of respectable connection who had been led "to rank herself among the professors of Christ's religion, and whose life and example . . . (would) be influential in bringing others to the same happy determination":

"Another was a lad of about 13 or 14 years of age, of infirm constitution, and who, a few days afterwards, died. The lad strayed from curiosity into our hall of worship, and was interested in our service. He next entered our Sunday school and was, from that time till his death, one of the most attentive worshippers and hearers that I have known. Attracted by his attention and his appearance, for he was a cripple, I spoke with him, and soon became attached to him. Young as he was, he appreciated the hope in a Saviour, and expressed his gratitude for the Sunday school, where, he said, he had obtained his first knowledge of the religion of the gospel. About the same time with himself, his father became an attendant on our worship. . . . Two Sundays since I publicly baptized his six younger children."

Dr. Weller's past year had not been "without its trials":

"It was no light one to remove a family, large as mine, to such a distance. By the mercy of God, however, it was accomplished without injury, and with little discomfort. There were many fears, too, inseparable from such an undertaking; but all were graciously removed, and I look back upon the past year, at its termination, as the most useful of my life,"³⁶

In January 1831, Dr. Weller was directed by the proper authorities of the diocese of Tennessee, to inform the executive committee of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society that there was no prospect of supplying any of the places in behalf of which application had been made, until some of their own candidates should be qualified to enter

³⁵*Proceedings . . . Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society*, May 10-11, 1831, p. 18.

³⁶*Periodical Paper of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society*, new series, I, 2 (May 1831), 13.

the field. He was to request that the sum which had been promised them might be granted to the churches at Franklin and Columbia, where the congregations were taking active steps for the erection of edifices of worship, but would be unable to accomplish such an object and at the same time to allow an adequate support of their highly respected, much beloved ministers. The executive committee returned a favourable answer; Stephens and Otey became associated with the Society as missionaries.

Weller reported to the Society that the church edifice at Nashville was not complete (January 1831), but that the building was enclosed and exertions were being made to finish it early in the spring. Expecting that this object would be effectuated and that the congregation would then be able to maintain their rector competently, the executive committee granted Weller an extension of his salary until January 1, 1831.

In the middle of that year, Bishop Meade of Virginia paid a visit to the Church of Tennessee. On June 28, he laid the cornerstone of the church at Franklin. Commenting on the results, Mr. Otey said:

"The Bishop's visit, I hope, will be productive of very salutary consequences. A deep sense of the importance of religion is evidently gaining ground in my congregation."

On July 6, 1831, Bishop Meade consecrated Christ Church, Nashville, thus crowning the efforts of the congregation and the rector.³⁷ He also laid the cornerstone of the church at Columbia, where the vestry had contracted for a brick structure, 60 by 40 feet.³⁸

In his letter to the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, October 3, 1831, Mr. Otey wrote:

"The work of our church is now proceeding rapidly, and we hope to be able to have it covered in before the cold weather sets in. . . . The members of my congregation are generally poor, and though willing to do their utmost, are nevertheless unable to make large advances of money. When I first came to this place, there was to be found but one professed Episcopalian."³⁹

Mr. Otey stated that his church would be 60 feet long and 40 feet wide, having a ground-floor of nearly the same dimensions. There

³⁷*Christ Church, Nashville, 1829-1929*, Nashville: Marshall & Bruce Co., 1929, p. 68.

³⁸*Proceedings . . . Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society*, May 10-11, 1831, pp. 18-19; *Periodical Paper of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society*, new series, I, 4 (Nov. 1831), 10.

³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 9.

would be a tower, as well as galleries on the sides and at one end. The whole expense would amount to some \$3000. Of that sum, \$1200 had been subscribed.

He added that, in the western district, there are many persons warmly attached to the Church. A friend from there had written him that in his neighborhood are probably a dozen communicants, who would pledge \$300 for a missionary and give him board besides. The vestry at Knoxville have already pledged themselves to raise \$100 for a clergyman; much more might reasonably be calculated on there. In Williamson County, in which Mr. Otey resided, a brick edifice was designed for erection, to serve the double purpose of a church and an academy. Mr. Otey was authorized to employ a teacher, and to offer him \$500 a year as salary.⁴⁰

By this time,

"the life of the people had lost much of its broad pioneer roughness. In every township, the sale of public lands provided funds for free schools; and in 1832, 25% of the school-age population was enrolled. Although the law specifically demanded that there should be no distinction 'between rich and poor,' the free schools were, in fact, regarded as 'poor schools.' Those who could possibly afford it sent their sons and daughters to the many private schools which sprang up throughout the State."⁴¹

Dr. Stephens was busy at Columbia with his own building campaign, as well as with his pastoral duties. In 1832, he communicated the following to the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society:

"A very happy death occurred lately among my parishioners. A young man, a son of one of my vestry, who had been careless and skeptical, was taken ill, and by my faithful visits (I hope I may say) and the good Spirit of God, he was very hopefully converted. I will mention some of his expressions to me at various times—'O, I have religion,'—'I think I have religion,'—'I believe I have religion,'—'I do believe,'—'I do repent,'—'Religion is the best thing in the world,'—'I have found it at last, though late.' During the administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper he was uncommonly devotional, and rejoiced much in spirit, and gave glory to God, and Christ, 'who died to save him and all poor sinners.' The last words (or among the last) which he said to me were, 'I hope I shall meet you in heaven.' My reply was, 'Be faithful unto death, and God will give thee a crown of life;' and I have no reasonable

⁴⁰*Proceedings . . . Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, 1832, P. 34.*

⁴¹*Tennessee: A Guide to the State, p. 54.*

doubt but he is now wearing that heavenly crown. It was, indeed, the happiest death I have witnessed for many years."⁴²

On March 22, 1832, Bishop Levi Silliman Ives of North Carolina left Edenton for his visitation of Tennessee. On June 12th, he arrived in Knoxville, where he spent the following day in services. He confirmed two. The congregation met in the Presbyterian church, and the listeners were numerous and deeply attentive. On the 13th, he left on the stage for Nashville. He arrived at his destination, Saturday, the 16th; and on Sunday, he preached twice. The church was "filled with serious and attentive worshippers."

"The members of this parish, taking into view the feebleness of its infancy, are entitled to much credit for their unusual and successful efforts, in the erection of a commodious and beautiful church, in the liberal support of their rector, and in all other things pertaining to the promotion, in the Diocese, of the faith once delivered to the saints."⁴³

On June 22, the bishop left with Dr. Weller for St. Paul's, Franklin, where he officiated on Friday and Saturday and confirmed six on Sunday, June 24. The congregation still met in the Masonic Hall, "although a neat church edifice is in a state of forwardness. . . . The spiritual state of the parish appeared flattering." On June 25, accompanied by Dr. Weller, the Rev. Thomas Wright of North Carolina, and a layman, Bishop Ives proceeded to Columbia. There he preached, confirmed four, and administered the Holy Communion to about fifteen. He returned next day to Nashville; and on June 28, he ordained John Chilton and Samuel G. Litton to the diaconate.

"I cannot here forbear noticing the circumstance, that these are the first instances of ordination to any holy office in this Diocese."

Before leaving Tennessee, the bishop was to admit a deacon to the priesthood, to administer confirmation in Nashville, and to visit again the church in Knoxville.⁴⁴

"The Fourth Convention of the Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Tennessee" was held in Christ Church, Nashville, June 28-30, 1832. Stephens, Weller, Otey, and the two newly made deacons—Chilton and Litton, were the clergymen canonically resident in the diocese. Three others attended by invitation. Bishop Ives preached the convention sermon and presided. There were

⁴²*Periodical Paper of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society*, I, 6 (March 1832), 8.

⁴³*Journal of 4th Convention, Diocese of Tennessee, 1832*, pp. 12-13.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 14.

lay delegates from Nashville, Franklin, and Columbia; and there was a candidate for holy orders, Mr. Erastus Burr, present. The rector of St. Peter's, Columbia, was able to report that the new church had its roof, and that something had been done towards glazing the windows. There were no sufficient funds to complete the building, however. Dr. Weller stated that the Nashville church had been completed and consecrated.⁴⁵

On July 1, 1832, the services of Otey and Stephens, as missionaries of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, were discontinued; and the appropriation was given to the Rev. Messrs. Chilton and Wright.⁴⁶ Those two deacons started out promptly for their field of endeavour. They visited Clarksville, where a church had been recently organized; and held services there twice on Sunday, July 8. They then proceeded towards the western district of Tennessee. On the 10th of the month, they crossed the Tennessee River, which constituted the boundary between middle Tennessee and western Tennessee. Next day, Mr. Wright administered baptism to three children of an interesting family from Hartford, Connecticut, which had been residing seven years in the wilderness. Mr. Chilton noted in his report:

"This is the first clerical duty performed by a minister of our Church in this interesting portion of the extensive Diocese of Tennessee."

The same day, they travelled eighteen miles to Paris, a flourishing village, the county seat of Henry County, where they held service at night in the courthouse.⁴⁷

July 12, they renewed their journey, going towards Jackson, in Madison County,⁴⁸ where they arrived July 14 after a most disagreeable journey through continued rains. Mr. Chilton had determined, before he arrived in the missionary field, to make Jackson or its vicinity his home. There, on the 23rd of the month, assisted by Mr. Wright, he organized St. Luke's Church, Jackson.

⁴⁵*Journal of 4th Convention, Diocese of Tennessee, 1832*, pp. 12-13.

⁴⁶*Proceedings of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, 1832*, p. 35.

⁴⁷PARIS (altitude 493 ft.) was laid out in 1823—a trading center.

⁴⁸JACKSON (altitude 450 ft.), in the valley of the Forked Deer River, is a city of broad streets and tree-lined avenues. A white settlement was begun by North Carolinians in 1819. It was so named because many of Andrew Jackson's soldiers and his wife's numerous relatives lived in the vicinity. It was laid out with streets 90 ft. wide. The first courthouse was built of logs. In 1823, it was incorporated as a town. In 1833, it had a population of 900.

The *Pioneer*, published at Jackson in 1822 or 1823, was probably the first newspaper in west Tennessee. The *Jackson Gazette*, first issued in 1824, became the *Truth Teller* in 1830. The *Western Tennessee Republican* and the *Southern Statesmen* were started in 1830.—*Tennessee: A Guide to the State*, pp. 270-271.

"The zeal and spirit manifested by the people of this place to promote the Episcopal Church is truly gratifying."

The following Sunday, July 29, Mr. Chilton held services in Brownsville, Haywood County.⁴⁹ There he baptized a couple of children. Application was made to him for the baptism of the children of two other families; but the prudent missionary, upon ascertaining that the nature of the baptismal obligation was not understood by the proposed sponsors, deemed it wise to defer the rite until parents and sponsors might receive better instruction "in the nature of this holy ordinance."

Assisted by Mr. Wright, Mr. Chilton organized a church in Brownsville, August 25—Zion Church:

"The inhabitants of this town, and the members of our Church here, manifest a most cheering and praiseworthy disposition to advance the interest of our church here."

Mr. Chilton visited Bolivar⁵⁰ and "Summerville" (Somerville),⁵¹ two flourishing towns south of the Hatchie River, and preached in both of them. Such visits were secondary to his main field of operations:

"My labours have been chiefly confined to Jackson and Brownsville, alternately, one Sunday in each place; the largest portion of the intermediate time being passed at Jackson, which is my home."

⁴⁹BROWNSVILLE (altitude 344 ft.), one of the oldest towns in western Tennessee. It is in the section set aside as a game preserve by the Chickasaws; they regarded this as the best hunting and fishing ground in the South. They were horrified by the large quantities of game which the white men carted away in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Bears, deer and wild turkeys were killed in prodigious numbers.

In 1826, a little tabernacle called "New Hope" was built in the forest six miles northeast of Brownsville as a church and a schoolhouse. Howell Taylor, a prominent Methodist preacher, arrived from Virginia with his five sons. For more than a century it was the meeting place of the prolific Taylor family; and from these meetings evolved the Tabernacle Community Revivals.—*Ibid.*, p. 462.

⁵⁰BOLIVAR (466 ft. altitude), seat of Hardeman County. Originally named Hatchie, the name was changed in 1825 in honour of Simon Bolivar, the liberator of Colombia and Venezuela. The early settlement was a trading point for the Chickasaws of northern Mississippi. It is said that there were frequently as many as a thousand Indians on the street at one time.

Residents believed that it was to become a town of importance, because they expected that a canal would be built between the Hatchie and the Tennessee, thus putting the town on a great thoroughfare between east Tennessee and New Orleans. Col. Ezekiel Polk, grandfather of Pres. James K. Polk, was one of the first settlers.—*Tennessee: A Guide to the State*, pp. 490-491.

⁵¹FAYETTE COUNTY, in the Western District of Tennessee, was organized in 1824. Immigration was very rapid the following year; and Somerville was laid out as the county seat. St. Andrew's mission there lapsed, and was revived in 1839 as St. Thomas', Somerville.—Arthur Howard Noll, *History of the Church in the Diocese of Tennessee* (New York: James Pott & Co., 1900) pp. 18, 102-103.

He preached twice at Paris, Sunday, September 2; and realized its needs:

"The people of this pleasant little village would be much pleased to engage the services of a clergyman, at least, for a part of his time, and according to their means would contribute liberally towards his support. This place, in conjunction with one or two others, at a convenient distance for a missionary, would afford a most interesting field for a zealous and self-denying minister, to plant and build up several churches."

In his letter, Mr. Chilton expressed confidence in the prospects at both Jackson and Brownsville. The congregations were beginning to assume and exhibit a promising regularity. A Masonic Hall had been procured in each place for worship. It was unfortunate in Mr. Chilton's opinion that there were not more missionaries in western Tennessee. The area was extensive and populous:

"By the census of 1830, only ten years from the first settlement of white inhabitants, there was a population of 120,000. The country is rapidly filling up with emigrants from various parts of the country, many of them from the east side of the Allegheny mountains. . . . In the present lamentable and deplorable deficiency of laborers, our eyes are raised to survey this interesting portion of our Diocese, only to weep over her wastes."⁵²

Mr. Wright reported to the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, that he had left Nashville with Mr. Chilton, that on July 8th he had held services twice at Clarksville:

"The few who attended were in general delighted with the opportunity thus afforded them."

The greatest anxiety was expressed, to have a minister at once settled among them. The Clarksville people assured him that \$250 would be obtained for his support.

On the 9th, he visited Mr. W., of whom he wrote:

"A kind and sensible old gentleman, who greatly rejoiced in having, 'for the first time in his life,' two Episcopal ministers under his roof. We found him to be a truly benevolent and conscientious man, piously disposed, or influenced by religious principles; and there is every possibility, that he will unite with the church at Clarksville as soon as one is established, and be a faithful member of it."

Next day he reached Mrs. T.'s—three miles west of the Tennessee River. That lady was well pleased to learn that Wright and Chilton were Episcopal ministers. She requested that her three children be baptized.

⁵²*Proceedings of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, 1832, pp. 35-36.*

"I could not but bless God, that we had thus early entered on our duties, been the means of strengthening and confirming this isolated daughter of the Church, and of receiving into the same fold the children of her bosom."

Mr. Wright reached Paris on the 11th. There he held services and became acquainted with several persons, some of whom had been baptized in infancy. Paris then contained about five or six hundred inhabitants. With Clarksville, fifty miles distant, it would, with a little aid from the Society, give a competent support to a single man.

In his report to the Society, Mr. Wright stated that congregations had been organized at Jackson, Memphis,⁵³ and Randolph.⁵⁴ If the services of the Church could be regularly performed, there would be a prospect of establishing the same in all those places. At Bolivar, containing from 450 to 500 inhabitants, there were very few attached to any religious denomination; there a resident clergyman might collect a congregation, especially if he should unite this place with LaGrange and perhaps Somerville. Mr. Wright was an ardent, earnest missionary. He said:

"Though I shall have laboured at an expense of about \$30 per

⁵³MEMPHIS (altitude 320 ft.), the largest city in Tennessee, is situated on the Fourth, or Lower Chickasaw Bluff, on the east bank of the Mississippi River.

For the first hundred years of its history, Memphis was nothing more than a river boom town on the borderline of the west. The Chickasaws lived on the Fourth, or Lower Chickasaw Bluff, long before 1541, when they were visited by DeSoto and his gold-seeking expedition. The place was visited again by white men in 1673, when Joliet and Marquette stopped to trade with the Indians. LaSalle followed in 1682, and built Fort Prud'homme on the first Chickasaw River.

Then France, Spain, and England began a long struggle for control of the bluffs which commanded the River. In 1763, the French ceded to the English the eastern part of the Mississippi Valley. During the next two decades, Spanish influence grew strong among the Chickasaws. The history is interesting and complicated. Capt. Isaac Guion, leading a force of Regulars to Natchez in 1797, secured land on the bluff for the erection of Fort Adams. The bluff remained in Chickasaw control until 1818, when the western territory was ceded to the United States.

In 1783-1786, North Carolina granted John Rice and John Ramsey 5000 acres of land on the site of Memphis. Rice was killed by the Indians, and John Overton bought his grant for \$500. Overton conveyed half of the interest to Andrew Jackson, who made over part of his interest to James Winchester. Immediately after the Indian treaty (1818), Jackson, Overton, and Winchester started laying out the town. Memphis was settled rapidly, chiefly by North-of-Ireland Scots, Scottish Highlanders, and Germans from east and Middle Tennessee who had come originally from North Carolina, Virginia, and South Carolina. The town was incorporated, Dec. 9, 1826.—*Tennessee: A Guide to the State*, pp 209-211.

⁵⁴RANDOLPH in the early days was the rival of Memphis. In 1830, it was the most important shipping point in West Tennessee, and it is mentioned several times in Mark Twain's *Life on the Mississippi*. The failure of Davy Crockett's scheme to cut a canal through the Hatchie River to the Tennessee gave Memphis the advantage; and Randolph is now a small village.

month more than the missionary salary, yet I grudge it not. The way is prepared for cheaper travelling hereafter; and I trust my services have . . . been profitable to the Church and to individuals. The Church has a good name in this western world, and men are desirous of knowing her better."⁵⁵

Later in the year 1832, Mr. Wright reported to the Society that he had visited Memphis more than once, Randolph and LaGrange twice.⁵⁶ He had been invited to take charge of the little flocks on the Mississippi River, and to give such occasional services as his duties would permit. Almost everywhere, he had met with the kindest reception from "talented men" and "honourable women not a few." "There is as much intelligence in this, as in any new country." He had found several Episcopal families in different places, "separated from and unknown to each other." They were "surprised and rejoiced to hear of the establishment of the Church in their vicinity. . . . Individuals among them had wandered from the fold, but they will doubtless return."⁵⁷

The *Journal of the Diocese of Tennessee* for 1833 gives the following dates for the organization of the new congregations:

St. Luke's: July 23, 1832 (by Mr. Chilton).

Zion Church, Brownsville: August 25, 1832 (by Mr. Chilton).

Calvary Church, Memphis: September 1832.

St. Paul's, Randolph: September 1832.

Immanuel Church, LaGrange: October 1832.⁵⁸

On January 9, 1833, Chilton reported to the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, that Wright, "who came to this part of the Diocese with me," organized three churches south of the Hatchee River—LaGrange, Memphis, Randolph. He had been absent from them nearly three months; and it was not certain whether or not he would return. He (Chilton) had been solicited to visit them, and had gone:

"I found most of the friends of the Church in each of the three places, in a state of despondency, not knowing whether Mr. Wright would return to minister for them or not."

Chilton himself had generally been occupied at Jackson and Brownsville alternately. In Fayette County, the friends of the Church had proposed to build a comfortable place of worship. In his lonely and

⁵⁵*Proceedings of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society*, 1832, p. 36.

⁵⁶LaGrange (573 ft. altitude), a small village. It was to be the terminus of the *LaGrange and Memphis R. R.*, chartered in 1836. The project was abandoned.—*Tennessee: A Guide to the State*, p. 492.

⁵⁷*The Missionary Record of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society*, I, 2 (Feb. 1833), 19.

⁵⁸*Journal of 5th Annual Convention, Diocese of Tennessee, 1833*, pp. 9f.

difficult work, struggling to build up the Church in a vast section where it constituted only a tiny handful, naturally he succumbed to discouragement:

"I have hitherto seen so little good arising from my feeble labours, that I should feel discouraged, were it not that I know God alone can give the increase."⁵⁹

The report on the state of the Church, submitted to the General Convention which sat in New York, October 17-31, 1832, stated:

"The Church in this state (Tennessee) was admitted into union with the General Convention at its last session. It then consisted of four congregations, with two Presbyters and one Deacon. It has at present, nine congregations, five Presbyters, and one Deacon. One church, the first in the State, has been erected since the last Convention, and two others are nearly completed."

Five new congregations had been organized. In four congregations, the only ones in which confirmation has been administered, the number confirmed was seventy. The total number of communicants reported was eighty, of whom fifty had been added in the recess of the Convention. There was one candidate for holy orders. Between 250 and 300 children were receiving instruction in Sunday school.⁶⁰

In 1833, the Rev. John Norment of North Carolina accepted a call to St. John's Church, Knoxville. He had been ordered deacon, May 25, 1828, by Bishop Ravenscroft. He began work as a Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society agent in January of that year. He found that, since the removal of the Rev. Mr. Davis some five years before, the Knoxville congregation had maintained a merely nominal existence, "having had, in that period of time, but few opportunities of attending Episcopal worship, and never sending a delegate to Convention." He found at first great difficulty in procuring a temporary place of worship, but was at length able to hold services in the courthouse. The plan for raising funds for a church building had been abandoned. On April 1, he was able to report to the Society that the "upper room in the courthouse" was "neatly and comfortably fitted up"; that he held two services every Sunday; that he had a Sunday school; and that the number of attendants "continues gradually to increase."

"Congregations are serious and attentive; and the peculiarities of our worship appear to be well received on the part of

⁵⁹*The Missionary Record of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society*, I, 2 (Feb. 1833), 20.

⁶⁰*Journal of the General Convention, 1832*, pp. 51-52.

many who have for the first time become acquainted with them."

Mr. Norment considered Knoxville a position which deserved serious attention:

"This location I consider an important one, as it affords a key to all of east Tennessee, of which it is the metropolis. Could we only procure funds enough to erect a small but permanent church, and to support a faithful and indefatigable missionary at this residence, I should soon expect to see every populous village in this beautiful mountain region, with its parish and regular services. It is expected that at a future day this place will become quite a commercial one. It is already accessible to steamboat navigation, and possesses a population of 2000 souls, having two Presbyterian and one Methodist church, a college, and flourishing male and female academies. . . . I take pleasure in recording my thanks for the hospitality which I have received in this place, and in bearing my testimony to the zeal and piety which characterize the communicants of this small congregation. Their walk and conduct is such as becometh Christians."⁶¹

Another missionary of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, the Rev. Samuel G. Litton, was at work in the northern and western district of Tennessee. On January 4, 1833, he left Nashville for his labours. Detained a few days at Clarksville, he arrived at Paris, his place of destination, on the 10th of the month. The only house of worship there belonged to the Methodists; the courthouse was not suitable, because of the coldness of the room and the severity of the weather. Services, however, were generously permitted him in the Methodist church. On January 16th, he arrived at Huntingdon, the county seat of Carroll County; and he arranged his schedule so as to officiate between the two places.⁶²

The diocesan convention was held in the Masonic Hall at Franklin, June 28-30, 1833. Nine clergymen were listed:

Daniel Stephens, D. D., Columbia, Maury County.
George Weller, Nashville, Davidson County.
Albert A. Muller, D. D., Missionary.
Thomas Wright, Memphis, Shelby County.

⁶¹*Proceedings of . . . the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society*, May 14-16, 1833, pp. 31-32.

⁶²*Ibid.*, p. 31; *Missionary Record of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society*, I, 5 (May 1833), 69-70. Litton was appointed missionary to Paris by the standing committee of Tennessee in May 1832; the northern part of the western district in the state was assigned him.

James H. Otey, Franklin, Wilkinson County.

John Chilton, Jackson, Madison County.

John H. Norment, deacon, Athens, McMinn County.

Samuel G. Litton, deacon, Paris, Henry County.

George Bridgman, deacon (of the Diocese of New York),
officiating at Clarksville.

The churches listed were:

Christ Church, Nashville.

St. Paul's Franklin.

St. Peter's, Columbia.

St. John's, Knoxville.

Trinity, Clarksville.

Immanuel, LaGrange.

St. Luke's Jackson.

Zion Church, Brownsville.

St. Paul's, Randolph.

Calvary, Memphis.

St. Matthew's, Paris.

The Rev. Dr. Stephens presided over the convention. Reports were submitted from the different congregations.

Christ Church, Nashville, was reported to have 34 communicants. The Sunday school was in a flourishing condition; and the church was generally well attended, "by a respectable and intelligent congregation."

"There is at present a more than usual degree of seriousness in the congregation. . . . The pestilence which lately raged among us, producing deep and extensive alarm, through the good mercy of our God, bore away from us only three individuals."

The rector of St. Peter's, Columbia, had "nothing very flattering to communicate." The new church edifice was in the same state in which it was twelve months before. The undertaker of the wood-work had died; and from the delay thence arising and from pecuniary embarrassments, scarcely any work had been done. There were 19 communicants. The Sunday school was carried on with regularity.

"Our congregation has fallen off considerably. This arises, perhaps, from the other denominations having much more preaching than heretofore."

St. Paul's, Franklin, had 23 communicants. The average number of Sunday school pupils was about 40. There was very little interest on the part of the parents; only one man and three women in the last year have given any time to the business of instruction.

"The rector has himself uniformly devoted the mornings of every Sunday, when not necessarily absent from home, to lecturing and teaching in the school. He regrets that his labours in this respect have not had the effect of provoking the members of his congregation to engage heartily and constantly in

the pleasing and benevolent work of teaching the young 'the knowledge and fear of the Lord.'"

Mr. Otey praised the ladies, who had raised funds for fitting up the interior of the church with suitable furniture. One evening in each week for a few months was employed by them in making for sale articles of necessary use and taste. At a recent fair, they raised nearly \$250.

St. Luke's, Jackson (7 communicants), and Zion Church, Brownsville (10 communicants), had both been organized since the last convention. At the former place, said Mr. Chilton, there was an evident improvement in attention to divine things. There was only one person there who had previously belonged to the communion of the Church, and but few who understood the order of service. At present, however, there were those who joined in the responses "with an animation not usual even in much abler congregations." At the organization of Zion Church, Brownsville, there were five communicants. Of that congregation, the missionary said:

"I should be doing the members of this congregation injustice not to bear testimony to the pious zeal which they have from the first manifested for the cause of God. The ardour with which they embraced the opportunity of having a church established among them is nothing abated, but rather increased, giving good ground to believe that the preaching of the gospel among them has not been in vain."

Calvary Church, Memphis, and St. Paul's, Randolph, were organized in September 1832, and Immanuel, LaGrange, the following month. Mr. Wright was invited to take charge of them; and he reported to the convention that he had consented to do so, and was thus far on his way to the Mississippi. A gentleman of the congregation of LaGrange had offered a pleasant and convenient lot for the erection of a church.

St. Matthew's, Paris, had been organized but two months; and the Rev. Mr. Litton had nothing to report. The state of his congregation was gradually improving; and the number of zealous worshippers increasing. The services were conducted in the courthouse. There were 5 communicants. From St. John's, Knoxville, the Rev. Mr. Norment told that, during the four months of his service, a neat and comfortable hall had been fitted up for the purpose of public worship, a Sunday school organized, a new vestry elected, and a subscription started for the purchase of an organ.

"The attempt to revive this congregation, though not meeting with the most sanguine expectations, demonstrates the practi-

cability of maintaining, under the most discouraging circumstances, and with the fewest possible number, the regular administration of the ordinances of the Church."⁶³

On Saturday, June 29, the convention turned to the important business of electing a bishop for the diocese of Tennessee. The want of direct supervision had certainly retarded the Church in that rapidly growing state.

"Tennessee was one of twenty states (out of the twenty-four States then existing in the American Union), in which the Church had been organized. But as there were at that time only fifteen bishops in these States, and two of these were assistant bishops, some of the others must needs have the episcopal oversight of the Church in more than one State."⁶⁴

Visiting bishops, as we have seen, had journeyed to Tennessee, and had made their contributions to the Church's welfare and growth. At last the diocese felt strong enough to maintain the episcopate. In the election, the Rev. Mr. Otey received five votes; the Rev. William Mercer Green of North Carolina, one vote; the Rev. Dr. Henry Anthon of New York, also one vote. It was announced that Mr. Otey was nominated and appointed on the part of the clergy by a majority. The laity unanimously voted to confirm the nomination.⁶⁵

During the months that followed, there was a scourge of cholera in Nashville and in Memphis, "prophetic of one of the characteristics of the Diocese of Tennessee throughout its history." There was also some anxiety as to the manner in which the Church in other dioceses would regard the action of the convention. South Carolina declined to consent to the consecration of Mr. Otey on the grounds that Tennessee lacked the canonical number of parishes and presbyters to elect. Three other dioceses—Maine, New Jersey, and Georgia—were slow in giving their permission. At length, the consent of a majority of the dioceses was obtained.

On January 14, 1834, James Hervey Otey was consecrated Bishop of Tennessee in Christ Church, Philadelphia, by the venerable Bishop William White, Presiding Bishop, assisted by Bishop Henry Ustick Onderdonk of Pennsylvania, Bishop Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk of New York, and Bishop George Washington Doane of New Jersey.⁶⁶

⁶³*Journal of 5th Annual Convention, Diocese of Tennessee, 1833*, pp. 6-11.

⁶⁴Arthur Howard Noll, *History of the Church in the Diocese of Tennessee*, p. 73.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, p. 78; *Journal of 5th Annual Convention, Diocese of Tennessee, 1833*, p. 14.

⁶⁶Arthur Howard Noll, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80.

A new day was to dawn on the diocese of Tennessee. Bishop Otey became one of the great men of the Church of the nineteenth century.

"Besides the duties devolving upon him in his own see, Otey acted for several years as provisional bishop of Mississippi and Florida, and as missionary bishop of Arkansas, the Indian Territory, and Louisiana. He founded a diocesan school of higher education for girls at Columbia, Tennessee, which, with the usual vicissitudes attending such ventures of faith, has proved of great advantage to the Church in the South. The bishop was one of the original projectors of the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee."⁸⁷

He died, April 23, 1863, during the troubles and desolations of the War between the States. On his monument he had directed these words to be inscribed:

FIRST BISHOP OF THE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH
IN TENNESSEE.

"The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin."

Bishop Otey, said Dr. William Stevens Perry, was

"a man of strong intellectual powers, a forcible and argumentative preacher, a theologian, a scholar, and a man of affairs. Under circumstances requiring less of wearying episcopal labour and travel, he would have been an acceptable contributor to the theological literature of the day, as well as to that of culture and social science. He has left in print, besides his charges, episcopal addresses, pastorals, etc., but a single work: *Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship of the American Branch of the Catholic Church, Explained and Unfolded in three sermons* (1852)."⁸⁸

⁸⁷William Stevens Perry, *The Bishops of the American Church Past and Present* (New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1897) p. 69.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, See also, Charles L. Wells, *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV, 90-91. A full-length, up-to-date biography of Bishop Otey is much needed.

California's Back Yard

The Story of the Missionary District of San Joaquin from the Settlement of the Territory to 1944

By Frederick D. Graves*



Seen from high in the air and looking toward the northwest, the territory of the Missionary District of San Joaquin might well suggest an enormous capital U followed by a period. This U is roughly three hundred miles long and one hundred miles broad. The curve at the bottom is formed by the Tehachapi Mountains. The left side is the Coast Range, the right the Sierra Nevada. The open space in the center is named for its principal river, the San Joaquin. The period is the Owens Valley.

The eastern slope of the Coast Range is very abrupt. Its little streams are dry as soon as the winter rains are over. Its people are few and the communities small. The western slope of the Sierra, on the other hand, is a gradually-rising tableland which catches the snows, whose spring thaws form splendid rivers which irrigate the lands below and make the valley a garden.

The northern part of this valley was explored by the Spaniards from Mexico, who with their Franciscan missions were trying to occupy Upper California before the Russians could establish a claim of preemption. As they pushed south along the foothills of the Sierra, they accepted the Indian names for the weaker rivers, but gave to the stronger rivers names which reflected the days in the Church calendar on which they were discovered: the San Joaquin (for the legendary father of the blessed Mary), Rio de Nuestra Senora de Merced (the Merced River flowing from the Yosemite Valley), Rio de los Tres Reyes (Kings River).

They reported the land as inhospitable, the weather difficult. The summer temperatures might reach as high as 115°. While it seldom fell below freezing in the winter, the floor of the valley was often cov-

*The Rev. Mr. Graves has recently completed a full length *History of the Missionary District of San Joaquin*. The following essay was specially written for HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.—Editor's note.

ered by a heavy fog which might last undispersed for weeks between December and March. As a result, no colonies or missions were founded in the interior valleys, but the Mexican government granted titles to great tracts of land for cattle ranges. The forays of Indians and depredations of bandits discouraged the ranchers. They were not unwilling to transfer their holdings to the "Gringos" who were beginning to arrive before the Mexican War. It is with these new arrivals that the vital history of the interior valleys begins.

In the later years of the 1840s, a number of events happened in rapid succession. The gringos took over the government of California. The end of the Mexican War left the territory to the United States. Gold was discovered on the western slope of the Sierra. The great immigration began.

The discovery of gold took place in what is now part of the Diocese of Sacramento. As the influx of "Forty Niners" crowded the "diggings" there, the rich "Mother Lode" country to the south, made famous by Bret Hart and Mark Twain, began to fill. In order to reach these southern mines a new town named Stockton was started at the head of navigation of the San Joaquin River. There men, machinery and supplies passed from river boats to long trains of freight wagons. It was a wild and "wide open" country in those days, but at Stockton the first parish of what was to become the Missionary District of San Joaquin was organized.

The beginning of the life of the Protestant Episcopal Church in California was due to lay initiative. In 1848 six laymen of San Francisco petitioned the Board of Missions in New York to send them a missionary priest, and soon two parishes, each with its rector, were working amiably in the city. In 1850 California became a state of the Union without passing through territorial status, and the Episcopal Church organized a diocese and elected a bishop without the experience of having worked as a missionary district.

The election was declined. So in 1853 the "Second Territorial Convention of the Diocese of California" met, and with them were the first representatives from Stockton. It sent deputies to the General Convention with the request that a bishop be elected and consecrated for the diocese. These deputies were not seated on account of canonical irregularities, but the Rt. Rev. William Ingraham Kip, D. D. (1811-1893) was elected, consecrated and sent to be the first bishop of California.

He landed in San Francisco on January 29, 1854. In his first convention address, he reported his initial visit to Stockton as follows:

"Friday the 15th (of February, 1854) I went by appointment to Stockton. Saturday was spent in company of one of the vestrymen visiting those who were known to have any ties with the Church, and seeking to revive their old interest and associations. Sunday we had service morning and afternoon in the Court House for a congregation which by their number and manner of making the responses certainly gave promise of interest in the Church. Monday I visited a sick member of the Church and others who claimed to belong to its fold. A few days afterward the vestry assembled and passed resolutions asking me to procure them a rector from the East and pledging him a liberal support!"

By November the bishop had procured for them the Rev. Joseph S. Large of Indiana. He was responsible for the first annual report of the parish, containing, by the bishop's request, a brief history. It told that the parish had been organized during the summer of 1850 under the leadership of the Rev. O. Harrison, Jr., who officiated for a month and then left, failing of adequate support. Services lapsed.

But the following spring they were resumed under lay ministrations, the junior warden, Mr. Bissell, lay-reading under license of the congregation. These services were interrupted by a fire which almost destroyed the town, but were resumed in a few months and continued until the removal of Mr. Bissell in 1853. In reporting these, Mr. Large paid tribute, writing, "These services, I understand, were very well attended; and they are manifest evidence of the good a zealous layman may do in a parish where there is no rector."

There were occasional visits by priests from San Francisco to provide the sacraments. Several priests were "permanent" for two or three months each. Then there were no services other than those provided by the bishop until Mr. Large came. A transcription of this report from the time of Mr. Large's arrival follows:

"His first services were held in the city hall on Sunday Nov. 19th (1854) and he has officiated regularly, twice on every Sunday since, with the exception of one Sunday in February when he supplied the bishop's pulpit in San Francisco, and one Sunday in April when it was deemed too stormy to have a service. The City Hall, a very commodious room, was used until it was deemed necessary to have a little fire, since which time the County Court House has been used.

"The Sunday School which was commenced during the winter has for want of teachers been for the time suspended. There are but a few children connected with the parish. Still, with a few energetic teachers we might have a respectable Sunday School.

"Mr. Webber has lately donated to the parish two lots,

very eligibly situated for the site of a Church. The vestry, however, decided that the times are too hard at present to attempt the construction of a Church.

"I cannot but regard the prospect for the Church here as very good. Though there is an immense amount of worldliness and ungodliness and indifference to religious matters generally, there is still a remnant, which I trust in God's good time will take root downward and bear fruit upward. They listen attentively to the preached word, and I can only hope that the attentive hearers may become doers of the work."

This parish of St. John's, Stockton, proved to be not only the first Church organization of the future missionary district, but the first parish in California, outside San Francisco, to have a continuous existence.

From the founding of St. John's until the year 1911, the history of the Church in the San Joaquin Valley is part of the story of the diocese of California. It is also closely linked with the opening and development of what Bishop Sanford often called "California's Back Yard."

The mining fields grew overcrowded and the prices of food made agriculture the more lucrative occupation. Many of the men turned to farming, and the cattle ranches were extended rapidly along the foothills of the Sierra toward the south. Indians became troublesome and the army established two posts for the protection of the settlers, Fort Tejon in the Tehachapi Mountains at the southern end of the valley, and Fort Miller half way toward Stockton in the hills east of what was to become Fresno.

Bishop Kip visited these two posts during the summer of 1855, travelling as the guest of a military tour of inspection. He sailed from San Francisco, visited Los Angeles, and then was driven a rough four hundred miles to Stockton. He held divine service, performed baptisms, and appointed lay readers at each post with confident expectation that he had started permanent work. Soon, however, the Indians seemed pacified and the posts were abandoned.

In the year 1859 the Church entered the mother lode country.

Beginning in 1849 there had grown up about Sonora and nearby Columbia the richest and most spectacularly wicked camps of the southern mines. To these the Church sent the Rev. J. G. Gassmann, who succeeded in organizing St. James' Mission in Sonora and gathering a congregation at Columbia. Reporting to the convention of 1860, he said that he was visiting Columbia for service each Sunday morning and Sonora in the afternoon; further, that the Sonora congregation was building a church.

This church was completed and still upholds its cross among cypress trees at the head of Main Street. Throughout the 1860s, it was served by resident pastors. The most active seems to have been the Rev. A. E. Hill. His endeavors grew until he was visiting the camps of three counties with his ministrations. Gradually these locations have become all but deserted, ghost towns, whose broken windows and falling roofs are pathetic mementoes of hopes which never came to fruition. The county seats had a function and continued to live, becoming centers of an agricultural or lumbering economy. In these the Church life has been maintained.

As a result of the ephemeral nature of the mining camps and the rapid growth of the communities around San Francisco Bay, most of the strength of the diocese of California was drained off into the metropolitan part of the state. By the end of the 1860s, Stockton and Sonora alone represented the future district of San Joaquin. But with the 1870s came the railroad and a new life to the central valley.

After the Civil War, Los Angeles had begun to grow from a sleepy Mexican pueblo to an American boom town. In 1871, the Southern Pacific Railroad began to push toward it through the San Joaquin Valley, and set up shipping points destined to become towns, even cities. With this means of marketing grain, the plains which had been but cattle ranges gradually became vast fields of barley or wheat, and the population grew.

A similar development was taking place in the Sacramento Valley to the north where the Rev. Mr. Hill, once missionary to the camps about Sonora, was rector of Sacramento. In 1874, the General Convention relieved the diocese of California of responsibility for that territory. The Rev. Mr. Hill, on being separated from the original diocese, earnestly called the attention of the convention to the

"Vast reaches of the San Joaquin Valley, stretching hundreds of miles to the South, and fast filling up with villages and people. It is traversed by the great Southern Pacific Railroad, and, so far as I know, not a single Episcopal service has been held in that valley South of Stockton."

Some time before this, a young lawyer, Mr. Douglas O. Kelley, had come to San Francisco in the suite of the Rev. James Lloyd Breck. He became more interested in the missionary problems of the Church than in the law, was ordained deacon and later priest, and rendered signal service both at Watsonville, where he was pastor, and to the diocese in clarifying the titles to its properties. In response to the appeal of Mr. Hill, he suggested that he be sent to make what would now be called a "survey" of the San Joaquin Valley. This he made,

visiting the towns along the railroad, and on his return strongly urged the opening of a mission there. So strongly did he urge this that the responsibility of the work was thrown on him.

He selected Fresno, then less than the leading community of the valley but near its center, as his headquarters, and started to organize the Church people whom he found into missions. By the end of the year he was able to make such a report that the diocesan board of missions told the diocesan convention that not only was the San Joaquin Valley mission justified, but that it was proving the most hopeful of all its work.

In the spring of 1880, Bishop Kip made his second visit to the valley. He spent two weeks with Mr. Kelley, visiting missions at Modesto, Merced, Fresno, Hanford, Visalia, Tulare and Bakersfield. He preached, confirmed and administered the Holy Communion in Presbyterian and Methodist churches, schools and public halls.

The year following, Mr. Kelley was aided by a priest sent to Modesto and Merced, and the next year, by another sent to Bakersfield. The succeeding years show a procession of clergymen who came and served for a short time and then left for fields less difficult of administration or more remunerative. The central counties fared best. Mr. Kelley was faithful there, and as he was relieved of care for Bakersfield, Visalia, Hanford, Merced and Modesto, he founded new missions at Selma, Fowler and Madera. All these were working devotedly by 1890, when Bishop William F. Nichols came to take over the diocese.

Compared with present requirements, building costs were low. Nevertheless, as each mission started from scratch, these charges were formidable. How bravely and energetically they went to work may be illustrated by St. Luke's Mission, Merced, which in 1889 reported five communicants and a church valued at \$1,000.00. No other mission was as fortunate as St. James', Fresno. It was given one quarter of a block, well situated, by a public-spirited citizen—the site on which now stand the cathedral, the diocesan house and the parish hall.

In spite of all the obstacles to be overcome, ten years after Mr. Kelley had undertaken to serve the valley six clergymen were there, serving ten congregations. One, St. James', Fresno, had achieved self-support, and a second, The Saviour, Hanford, was about to become independent. The field reported 366 communicants, 7 Sunday Schools with 36 teachers and 297 pupils. The contributions amounted to \$7,997.64. The total value of the Church property was estimated at \$33,180.00, with only \$935.00 indebtedness. So the tangible evidence of

progress due chiefly to the Rev. Douglas Ottinger Kelley had exceeded the most hopeful expectations.

During these years a great change had taken place in the life of the communities of the valley, and new problems had come for the Church. With the railroad had come a change from a cattle to a granger economy. Now the enormous holdings of cattle days were broken up. Vineyards and orchards began to be supplied with irrigation water from the rivers flowing out of the Sierra. The railroad was settling people on its holdings, and the conditions pictured in Frank Norris' *The Octopus* were beginning to grow. Gradually the English Churchmen withdrew, farming being less congenial to them, and their places were taken by a population less sympathetic to Church ideals. Many had religious bonds already established, as the Mennonites about Reedley, the Armenians about Fresno, the Scandinavians at Turlock and Kingsburg.

On the other hand, Bishop Kip, now about eighty years of age, was giving the charge to Bishop Nichols, who brought a fresh policy of expansion to the diocese of California. Within four years, Southern California, the "cow counties," was strong enough to become the diocese of Los Angeles, organized in 1895. The remaining center of the state was organized into three administrative districts, of which the San Joaquin valley was one. The Rev. Mr. Kelley had been called to San Francisco to initiate an institutional ministry in connection with the cathedral. The missions of the valley were placed under the superintendency of the Ven. John A. Emery, archdeacon. A convocation was organized, the Rev. William Lucas, rector of Fresno, being its first rural dean. With him were associated the Rev. F. H. Miller, rector of Bakersfield; the Rev. C. S. Linsey, rector of Hanford; the Rev. L. C. Sanford, vicar of Selma and Tulare, later to become bishop of the Valley; the Rev. W. M. Lane, vicar of Madera and Merced; the Rev. Jonathan Nichols, vicar of Sonora; and the Rev. J. S. McGowan, vicar of Fresno Flats and Raymond. Modesto and Visalia were vacant. Tulare was visited by the rector of Hanford. Later Stockton was added to the convocation and new missions at Lodi, Oakdale, Porterville, Lindsay and Tuolumne were organized.

With this change in the administration, a more aggressive spirit came over the staff. Rural Dean Lucas undertook his responsibility with great zeal. He had notices, inviting isolated Church folk to write to him, displayed on public bulletin boards and printed in the newspapers throughout the valley. There was some response. In reporting to the convention following, he stated that he had received no reports from his associates, but had hearty praise for a layman, Mr. H. H.

Nagle, who had organized a Sunday school and mission at Mokelumne Hill, a mining camp, and had prepared and presented twenty-four candidates for holy baptism. The mission had paid all its expenses and had started a building fund.

The early years of this decade brought hard times, Coxey's Army and the Populist Party. Some convention reports show only five clergymen working in the valley. Yet the population was growing and in the year 1896 a pulse of new life stirred. Stockton and Lodi were added to the convocation. New missions opened at Porterville and Lindsay. A fresh and undiscouraged rural dean brought new enthusiasm to the work, and the staff at headquarters showed more interest. Archdeacon Emery reported to the convention of 1902 that during the preceding year every county in the convocation, except Mariposa and Alpine, had been visited by either the bishop or himself. Services had been held at points where none had been conducted for fourteen years, and people who had not been reached in their homes for twenty years had been visited.

Deaconess Elizabeth Dorsey, who had been working in the institutions of San Francisco, returned to her home in Sonora, and busied herself organizing and administering Sunday schools and guilds in Sonora, Oakdale, Tuttletown and the new lumber camp of Tuolumne.

The Rev. Edward Morgan (late canon of Grace Cathedral, San Francisco) became rector of Bakersfield, where he built a permanent church and opened missions in Kern and Greenfield. The Rev. G. R. E. MacDonald opened missions in five communities adjacent to Hanford, where he was rector and where he was responsible for the erection of the most churchly and beautiful church building in the valley. In 1907, the Mission of the Good Shepherd at Reedley was begun through the efforts of a devout layman, Mr. O. D. Lyon.

By the end of the first decade of the century, the contributions of the convocation toward local expenses had grown to \$22,453.39, and the value of its real property was \$96,000.00, against which there was but \$15,000.00 indebtedness, and the movement toward the erection of the missionary district of San Joaquin was begun.

The missionary district of Sacramento, on behalf of which the bishop, the Rt. Rev. W. H. Moreland (1861-1946), had raised what seemed an adequate episcopal endowment fund, was about to relinquish its subsidy from the General Board of Missions. Bishop Nichols, more and more preoccupied with the growth about the bay of San Francisco, was urging that the funds released by Sacramento be used to finance the administration of the convocation of the San Joaquin Valley as a missionary district. The matter of this division of the

diocese came to a head rather suddenly in the diocesan convention of 1910. A committee to study the plan, under the chairmanship of the Rev. Clifton Macon (who initiated the Prayer Book revision completed in 1928), reported back a group of appropriate resolutions. They were adopted and presented to the General Convention meeting in Cincinnati that year. With the resolutions from the missionary district of Sacramento, they were adopted. Sacramento became a diocese. The convocation of San Joaquin became a missionary district, and the Rev. Louis Childs Sanford (1867-1948), nominated by the Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, bishop of Massachusetts, was elected bishop.

The bishop-elect had spent practically his whole ministry in the diocese of California, having begun as deacon at Selma and Fowler in 1892. At the time of his election, he was secretary of the Eighth Missionary District. He was consecrated in St. John's Church, San Francisco, of which he had been rector, on St. Paul's Day, January 25, 1911. Bishop Nichols was the presiding consecrator, most of the bishops of the Pacific slope joining with him in the laying on of hands.

The following week, Bishop Sanford began his visitations of the parishes and missions of the new district. He was most cordially received, with social receptions as well as services as parts of each occasion. He appointed his Council of Advice, chose the canons of the diocese of California, so far as they could apply to the conditions of a missionary district, and in accordance with their provisions named the second Tuesday in May as the date for the first convocation. Until the whole Church conformed its fiscal year to that of the business world, San Joaquin's year closed with the end of April, and its convocations were held in the second week of May.

At this convocation he set forth certain policies which he hoped to follow. (1) He expressed his desire for a cooperative attitude toward Christian bodies of other names. (2) He outlined a missionary policy whereby he would have the communities of the valley considered in three classes.¹ There were some where aggressive missionary work might be prosecuted. Then, in towns where the field was already occupied by other Protestant groups, but which show little promise of growth, the Church people might well be ministered to by two general missionaries. Thirdly, there were towns between these classes, where other religious bodies were doing good work but where a considerable number of unchurched people might be reached. In such towns he hoped to build not a church but a hall, which could be used for church purposes while its primary function should be service to the whole community as a social center.

Having outlined these plans, the bishop spoke of the need of a house for himself and his family which should be the first diocesan institution, a place where he could extend the hospitality which is expected of a bishop. He mentioned the need for changes in the canons to adapt them to the simpler needs of the district, and the need for incorporating the district.

Committees were appointed to care for these matters, and all had a happy time getting acquainted with one another, forming friendships and mutual understandings which were to grow into a truly diocesan consciousness.

The episcopal residence was slow in being realized. It was only after several changes in plans and delay in raising the necessary funds that the bishop and his family were able to occupy the house in Fresno. After some years, it was found to be inadequate. A commodious study and bedrooms were added in 1921.

The problem of incorporation also met with delays, mostly technical. It was finally solved by the bishop's becoming incorporated as a corporation sole, a body which could hold the property of the district and its funds without the necessity of a cumbersome board of directors. The plan for the prosecution of the missionary work, important and wise as it seemed at the beginning, came to be disregarded largely on account of lack of funds and clergymen.

After his retirement in 1942, Bishop Sanford planned and started to write a history of the district, but was unable to complete it before his death. That part which concerned his own episcopate, he outlined by subjects rather than by years, in the main. The remainder of this essay follows his outline.

CANONS

Bishop Sanford chose for the new district the canons of the diocese of California, as those under which the clergy had worked and with which they were most familiar. They were gradually modified, almost always toward simplification, canon tinkering being one of the favorite interests of the convocation.

The first major change introduced the commission form of administration. It came about partly from the difficulty of assembling boards of different persons to accomplish what might as well be done by a single body. To accomplish it, the bishop appointed at convocation a Council of Advice, consisting of four presbyters and four laymen. At its first meeting, this council would organize by electing a chairman and a secretary and selecting from its membership one clerical and one

lay commissioner for each of the four fields of interest—finance, missions, religious education and social service. This council would then assemble quarterly. After disposing of the business proper to the Council of Advice, it would resolve itself successively into the four commissions, and under the chairmanship of the bishop conduct the executive affairs of the district.

The bishop and the district prided themselves that this was the introduction of the commission form of government to the Church, setting a pattern for the whole Church, in its broadened consciousness, to follow in 1919 in bringing forth the National Council as successor to the Board of Missions. The district then made such changes as were necessary to conform its organization to that of the National Council, and separated its Executive Council from the Council of Advice.

A second basic change in the canonical administration of the district grew up partly as a consequence of the democratic spirit of Bishop Sanford and his appreciation of the change in the function of a missionary bishop. The phrase "missionary bishop" was initiated when Bishop Chase was sent to search out a "district" in unknown territory. Bishop Sanford was sent to be the head of a convocation already organized, with clergy and laity mutually acquainted. The district of San Joaquin was as truly a diocese as any other, save in its canonical status and its subsidy. So, gradually what had been appointive offices became elective, the bishop appointing those whom the convocation nominated to him. The same became true of the rural deans when the deaneries were erected. In all things the bishop fostered the spirit of self-reliance and responsibility in the people of the district. Soon the district was calling itself a "diocese," and living as one in all matters not forbidden by canon.

MISSIONARY POLICY

The missionary policy set forth by the bishop at his first convocation came to be modified by the course of the growth of the communities of the district. The towns of the bishop's second class, being either mining or lumbering camps, faded from the picture, and the missions which Mr. Kelley had founded failed to achieve self-support during most of the years of Bishop Sanford's episcopacy. From time to time, some small community would make an effort to organize a mission, but soon it was likely to find that its effort was premature. The missions started by the archdeacon will be mentioned in the paragraphs devoted to him. That of St. Francis at Turlock proved to be a fluctuating ef-

fort, growing or waning with the number of Church people resident from time to time.

The unsettled nature of the population was a constant problem. Very often it seemed that within a year or two a mission's whole increment moved away. There was the town of Sanger, where a mission was organized and a hall erected in 1914. When it was visited five years later, only one person was found who acknowledged relationship to the Episcopal Church.

The missions of the Owens Valley have a similar but more interesting story. When the valley was first visited by Bishop Sanford, he found a few Church of England people, and he organized missions at Lone Pine and Bishop. In Lone Pine, a rather pretentious church was built by the widow of a wealthy rancher as a memorial to her husband, and in Bishop, in time, a dual purpose hall was built. The missions prospered until the city of Los Angeles diverted the water of the valley. The population moved away, letting the rich orchards fall back into the desert. A small group continuing in Lone Pine became the object of a merger, the story of which belongs in the paragraphs devoted to cooperation with other bodies. At Bishop, the responsibility of being the county seat kept the mission alive, the vicar supporting himself by acting as the probation officer.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

In religious education, the story of the Council of Advice and its successor, the Executive Council, recounts a long series of activities to stir the people, clergy and lay, from contentment with the old ways to take a more active part in the newer programs of Christian Nurture being commended by the national Department of Christian Education. It is not a very thrilling story, but rather one of passing the responsibility from commissioner to commissioner, discouraged after trying with disheartening results. For a while a part-time clerical director was engaged. He tried to promote teacher-training and other techniques which were coming to the fore. But partly because of inertia and partly because the man failed to commend himself, the effort was abandoned.

One device which proved to be of permanent value was the Bishop's Banner, bearing the arms of the district. Its custody was awarded annually to the church school which had made the best record during the previous year. The conditions were changed from year to year, and much was made of the contest and of the rally at which the banner was awarded.

SOCIAL SERVICE

Little seems to have been achieved in social service. The executive board of the district appointed commissioners of this activity, but they were able to report only some activities of the clergy as community leaders in civic matters or in war drives. To one looking back from the vantage point of 1952, it would seem that all were city-minded and quite failed to realize what was happening to raise the migratory and rural problems discussed in *Factories in the Fields* (McWilliams) and *Grapes of Wrath* (Steinbeck).

THE WOMAN'S AUXILIARY

What is known as the Woman's Auxiliary in the district began as little groups of devoted women whom the Rev. Mr. Kelley organized into mission guilds in the days of his first ministry in the valley. They were gradually knit into the Woman's Auxiliary of the Diocese of California. Although local needs constantly urged themselves on these guilds, a consistent effort was made to keep them in touch with one another and with the larger unit. As a result, there was sufficient mutual knowledge for Bishop Sanford to gather together seventy-four women, representing sixteen guilds, at Fresno in May 1911, and organize a district branch of the Auxiliary with appropriate officers. This Auxiliary took part with the women of the Church in study, prayer and work. The work was mostly missionary boxes for the Alaska mission and the support of the missions at Mokelumne Hill and to the Tuolumne Indians.

When in the year 1919 a broader vision of the Church's work came as a result of the post-war reconstruction, and the name "The Church Service League" was proposed, Bishop Sanford brought it before the Woman's Auxiliary, as suggested, as an ideal and pattern for its reorganization. It was adopted, and the Auxiliary broadened its activities to cover the Five Fields of Service. From that time it was known as the Diocesan Branch of the Church Service League.

MEN AND MONEY

The national Board of Missions proved to be far from generous in its subsidies for the support of the missionary clergy, and Bishop Sanford felt constrained from making begging excursions to the East. When subsidies came to be apportioned to the missionary districts in proportion to their previous incomes, some of which had been vastly increased by successful solicitation outside the channels of the Board,

the portion of San Joaquin proved to be scant indeed. This made the enlisting of clergymen to the valley extremely difficult.

Besides the lack of money, there were the psychological difficulties which have always obtained on the frontier. Isolation from congenial associations and cultural interests, difficulty in securing preferment, dependence on the judgment of the bishop who in any difficulty is almost sure to take the opinion of the influential layman—all make for a sense of insecurity. Bishop Sanford had numerous disappointments in men who proved emotionally unable to endure the strains, as, for example, the clergyman who after a few months wrote that he "had to see a beech tree before he died."

THE FIRST WORLD WAR

At the time the nation was drawn into World War I, Bishop Sanford was busy raising the district's portion of the initial endowment for the Church Pension Fund. Many such activities had kept him in touch with the people throughout the whole district, but with the war came a change. Aside from the distractions from parish activities which made personal contacts more difficult, the bishop was drawn into extra-diocesan interests. He was subpoenaed on the Fresno County Grand Jury and felt obliged to serve. Then he was city and county treasurer of the American Red Cross for some years. That gave him a convenient office, which awakened the sense of the need for a diocesan house and helped to lead to the cathedral. But all this greatly diminished his presence among the people of the district.

POST-WAR REORGANIZATION

After the armistice, there was a great effort in every public service to capitalize on the spirit of cooperation engendered by the war. "Reconstruction" was the slogan. The Program of the Church, enlarged and more earnestly pressed, became a much more urgent theme in San Joaquin. Canonical changes brought the district into close conformity to the national pattern. The committee on the state of the Church was superseded by a committee on survey. The Rev. Middleton Barnwell and later the Rev. F. B. Bartlett, as field secretaries to the province, brought enthusiasm and techniques which proved to be stimulating. It was in connection with this stirring of the Spirit that the part-time director of religious education was introduced, the Bishop's Banner was made an institution, and the deaneries were set up.

DEANERIES

The re-kindled spirit which came with the reconstruction revealed the need of some smaller and more intimate associations for the clergy and lay leaders. So the bishop organized three deaneries—Southern, Central and Northern—an action which was received with interest and enthusiasm.

The Rev. L. A. Wood, vicar of Porterville, was first to call and organize the Southern Deanery, to which he was appointed rural dean. He offered leadership with high imagination. His program called for two meetings each year, gathering the deanery and the deanery branch of the Service League to share a service of the Holy Communion and a luncheon, but to conduct their business separately; a united choir service in the fall; and, as the climax of the season's work, a deanery picnic with the presentation of a pageant each spring. He started a circulating library which grew to be a district institution, and also started the practice of reading together a chapter from the Greek Bible. This practice was followed with interest as long as Mr. Wood was rural dean.

The other deaneries were less active than the Southern, but served a useful function in the life of the district and of the clergy. As long as the Very Rev. G. R. E. MacDonald headed the Central Deanery, it also did good work. But gradually the leaders seemed to lose interest, and in 1936 the bishop told the clergy that he felt the deaneries had become a chore instead of an opportunity and a joy. He urged a revival of the old spirit. The appeal failed and the reports of the rural deans, long grown perfunctory, dropped from the minutes of convocation.

THE ARCHDEACON

The bishop hoped for the assistance of a general missionary from the first, and in the enthusiasm of the reconstruction days felt that the time had come. With the support of the Missionary Commission he appointed the Rev. W. H. Hawken, then vicar of Merced, to the office. Mr. Hawken had spent most of his ministry in California, and had shown himself both a zealous missionary and a builder, being proficient in most of the building trades. He entered on his work with enthusiasm.

Before long he reported to convocation that he had made a Church survey in every community of the district where the Church was not represented. In many places he had found no response, but in some others he had revived missions which had been closed through the shifting of the population. Summer services had been started in Yose-

mite Park and at Giant Forest. The following year, new missions were organized at Mendota, Kerman and Taft, and building plans were pushed.

At the convocation of 1926, the bishop startled the clergy by announcing the appointment of Mr. Hawken as archdeacon, and seemingly placing the missionary clergy under his authority. But the venerable archdeacon was so tactful and helpful in his administration that no discontent resulted. As the years passed, his time and that of his assistants grew to be taken up with supplying vacant churches, and gradually the spirit with which the work had been undertaken faded. He became absorbed in plans for his retirement, which he effected in 1933. Bishop Sanford paid high tribute to the services he had rendered, in his convocation address the following year. The financial stringency of the great depression precluded the appointment of a successor.

THE CATHEDRAL

The bishop had hardly more than come to Fresno when the vestry of St. James' Church approached him with the idea of making St. James' his cathedral. In time, institutes of mutual satisfaction were framed, and St. James' became the pro-cathedral. Within the first year, the Rev. G. R. E. MacDonald became the dean.

Here the bishop tried earnestly and persistently to make a success of what he termed "The Municipal Policy," namely, that there should be but one parish in a city with as many congregations as the growth of the population would justify. In accordance with this plan, a mission Sunday school was started in the northern part of the city. When its growth demanded more adequate quarters than the bishop's house provided, the Chapel of the Holy Spirit was built. The bishop appointed several vicars in succession to this chapel, and frequently there seemed to be a promise of a growing congregation. But it was usually found that after a few weeks the newly-won helpers were drawn off to the more enjoyable services of the downtown church. In this way the experiment proved a great disappointment to the bishop, and in the end the effort was abandoned, though the size of the city would seem to have demanded several congregations.*

In the year 1921, the bishop brought before the convocation and the vestry of St. James' the possibility of the church's becoming truly a cathedral. As a result, each body appointed a committee to study the

*The population of Fresno by decades: 1910—24,892; 1920—45,086; 1930—52,513; 1940—60,685; 1950—91,669.

proposal. There were delays, but in time they did gather literature and study it in a spirit of mutual helpfulness, so that institutes agreeable to the bishop, the executive council and the convocation, the dean, the vestry and the congregation were finally drawn and formally adopted by each and all. The last action was taken on January 28, 1925, and on June 2nd, that year, the cathedral was legally erected.

There was a great service attended by choirs and delegates from all over the district. The bishop of California, the Rt. Rev. E. L. Parsons, preached a sermon on the mission of a cathedral in the modern world; there was a banquet with other festivities; and the bishop felt highly gratified. He tried to avoid any appearance of dictatorship, but before long Dean MacDonald felt so pushed to the wall that he resigned. The Very Rev. Arthur Farlander succeeded him for a few years, but found the situation unhappy, and it was only with the coming of the Very Rev. James M. Malloch, D. D., that the cathedral began to assume the station in the life of the city and district of which Bishop Sanford had dreamed.

THE DIOCESAN BULLETIN

As another expression of the expansion which followed World War I, a department of publicity was added to the functions of the Executive Council, and the publication of a district paper was launched. Called *The Diocesan Bulletin*, its purposes were to help create a diocesan consciousness and mutual knowledge in accordance with the bishop's steady policy, to enable the district officers to speak directly to all subscribers on the aims of the National Council and on their own aims and needs. A subscription phrase was added to the form of annual pledge and the *Bulletin* was posted to every one. At first published as a quarterly, it soon grew into a monthly, and it was believed at the diocesan house that it served well the purposes for which it was inaugurated.

There were times when it rendered signal service, as when informing the district regarding the erection of the cathedral and of proposed changes in the canons. It always gave a digest of the bishop's address to convocation, a monthly graph of payments to the general Church Program, much in the way of parish news, pictures of the churches and of new members of the district staff.

The *Bulletin* continued for twenty years until in 1942 *Forth* began to publish eight pages of San Joaquin material in a special issue, and this publication of the general Church went into the home of every subscriber to the general Church Program.

PAGEANTRY AND PILGRIMAGES

In the year 1917, the rector of Hanford, who had had some stage experience in school and college days, began to present small Sunday school dramas at Christmas and Easter. As these developed, Bishop Sanford became much interested and began to urge their extension throughout the district. When the deaneries were erected, the Rev. L. A. Wood, heading the Southern Deanery, instituted the presentation of pageants at the annual picnics, and they continued to be written and presented throughout his service as rural dean. They were so constructed that each parish or mission could present an episode in the development of the drama, the whole being bound together by an interpretive chorus introducing each section.

Dean MacDonald also took great interest in religious drama, and made possible many productions both as parish and as deanery projects. Under this stimulus, other congregations undertook a few presentations, but it was found to be too serious work for untrained leaders. It did not accomplish all that the bishop had hoped and the interest waned.

In his initial visit to the valley, Bishop Kip had conducted services at Fort Miller and at Fort Tejon. Both these were commemorated by pilgrimages. At the convocation of 1920, Bishop Sanford proposed a pilgrimage to the grounds of Fort Miller, which were soon to be covered by the waters of an irrigation system reservoir. The proposal was well received, and on the anniversary of Bishop Kip's visit a large number of pilgrims from all parts of the district met at the pro-cathedral and drove to the site. There, under an old fig tree, facing the adobe in which the first bishop of California had held his service, Bishop Sanford celebrated the Holy Communion and the bishop of California preached a sermon from the very text which Bishop Kip had used. A picnic dinner, and a tour of the sites under the guidance of one who had spent his childhood at the post followed. During the following year, the bishop published a sumptuous volume in memory of these events.

Five years later, a similar pilgrimage was made from Bakersfield to the site of Fort Tejon. The bishop said of these pilgrimages that he felt they performed a valuable service in building a sense both of diocesan loyalty and of faith for the future.

INTERDENOMINATIONAL COOPERATION

Bishop Sanford felt that the Episcopal Church should exercise with emphasis its leadership toward Christian unity. The clergymen of the

district tried to follow his wish and act cooperatively with other Christian bodies in civic matters, and a few of them promoted ministerial forums on the subject.

When St. James' became the cathedral, the bishop began a series of annual fellowship gatherings to which all the non-Roman ministers within reach were invited. They included a service of the Holy Communion, a luncheon and an afternoon conference on the subject of unity. They were well-attended and the bishop believed that they were very helpful, both as leading to better mutual understanding and as self-dedication to the work of the forthcoming season.

Through these meetings and other contacts, a Home Mission Council was effected, whereby the holding of union services on Sundays in Yosemite and Sequoia National Parks was achieved. On the other hand, the district was somewhat hampered in its missionary work, for it gave the churches at work in any community the right to protest the effort of the Episcopal Church to begin services, a right which was exercised effectively.

The cooperative achievement in which the bishop felt most satisfaction was in the Owens Valley, where a union of the Episcopal and Methodist congregations was accomplished. An elaborate concordat between the bishop and the presiding elder was drawn up and formally entered upon, and the united congregation prospered under the leadership of a cooperative presiding elder and a sympathetic minister. But with a change in the persons of both the presiding elder and the minister, Pentecostal methods superseded the Prayer Book ways, and there was a great dissatisfaction. The Church's control of Trinity Church, Lone Pine, was recovered only after some years. A somewhat similar history relates to a concordat with the Presbyterian Church at Oakhurst. The moral of these cases would seem to point to the difference between personal and institutional cooperation.

CAMP SIERRA

Camp Sierra is a Methodist conference ground in the mountains above Fresno. Here in 1929 Bishop Sanford, with the approval of the Executive Council, entered upon a concordat whereby the district was to contribute to the grounds a House of Prayer and certain cottages, and in return was to have the use of the grounds for conferences at certain periods in the summer. The House of Prayer and two cottages were built, and the bishop held his clergy conferences there. In 1931, he planned to hold general conferences of clergy, lay readers and young

people. Unfortunately, the great depression rendered attendance too expensive for a large gathering. Those who attended were enthusiastic about the location and the programs, and the bishop himself made much of the conferences. They lasted annually for ten years, but by 1942 World War II interrupted and there was no conference. By the time the war was over, Bishop Sanford's successor was in office, and those in authority in the Methodist Church found it inconvenient to allot a satisfactory period of time. So the property of the district was sold, and at the present time the district is building its own camp.

THE GREAT DEPRESSION

In spite of the stringency beginning to be felt in 1930, the reports for that year show it as the banner year of the district, with the largest sum paid for self-support, the greatest value in capital assets, and the strongest staff. The bishop, however, felt that trouble was coming, and began to take every opportunity to curtail expenses. As the depression continued, clergymen were given every opportunity to find livings elsewhere, and the missions were combined so that they could be served by fewer men. Both the subscriptions and the subsidy from the National Council fell, and the bishop urged that the items in the annual budgets, salaries included, be prorated to the actual expectancies, once the annual campaign was over.

The picture of the years from 1931 to 1936 is one of constantly decreasing incomes and deeper indebtedness to the clergy, who had to bear the brunt of the loss. As the nation climbed out of the depression, subscriptions were resumed, and by the year 1940 the tables of salary arrearages due the clergy dropped from the records of convocation. But more than one clergyman has never been reimbursed.

One unhappy result of the depression came about through the Commission on Strategy and Policy of General Convention. In its concern over the total situation, it recommended the abolition of several missionary districts, San Joaquin among them, and their being united with adjacent dioceses as soon as it might be accomplished. This suggestion was the source of much agitation in the years preceding Bishop Sanford's retirement.*

*The Commission of General Convention on Strategy and Policy, authorized in 1937, functioned for six years and made two reports: the first, to the General Convention of 1940, and the second, to the General Convention of 1943. For the views of this commission concerning the missionary district of San Joaquin as communicated to me by its secretary throughout the six years, see *below* Appendix I.

OF BECOMING A DIOCESE

In the middle years of the 1930s, considerable pressure was exerted on the missionary districts to assume diocesan status and relinquish their subsidies from the general Church Program. Bishop Sanford informed the convocation of the pressure on him, and the convocation appointed a committee which conducted a wide study of the resources, possibilities and the experiences of the dioceses erected in the previous twenty-five years. It presented to a later convocation a long report, which was then ordered sent to the secretary of the House of Bishops and to the chairman of its committee on the subject. As a result, the pressure was lifted. Later, it seemed likely that steps to dissolve the district would be taken when Bishop Sanford should reach the age of retirement.

With the fear of this dissolution before it, and the stimulus which came from the diminishing of the subsidy, a stronger movement toward self-support came over the district as the year 1940 approached. Speaking of this, the bishop told the convocation of 1941 that among other signs of progress he was pleased to report that six of the missions were slated for self-support and parochial status. He recommended that a committee, successor to that of 1925, be instructed to prepare a new study of the matter. Convocation approved, the committee was appointed, a very thorough study was made and an optimistic report was given to the following convocation, which adopted a resolution declaring its intention to achieve diocesan status as soon as possible.

A SUCCESSOR TO BISHOP SANFORD

Bishop Sanford passed his seventy-fourth birthday in 1941, and the following January sent his resignation to the presiding bishop. It was accepted by the House of Bishops meeting the following month, and the Rev. J. Lindsay Patton, D. D. was elected to succeed him.

On being notified of his election, Dr. Patton made a survey of the district, and on February 17th wrote a long and detailed letter to the Presiding Bishop declining the election. A copy was sent to each of the bishops of the Province of the Pacific, and it fell into the hands of *The Witness*, which gave it sensational publicity. This fresh emphasis, argument, and publicity on the dissolution of the district gave anxious concern to Bishop Sanford and the people. The Rt. Rev. Dr. Parsons wrote convincingly in answer to *The Witness* and Bishop Moulton, president of the Province, appointed committees to study the matter. It was with anxiety that the meeting of the synod was approached, for,

while it had no authority, its recommendation would be of great weight with the General Convention of 1943.

The report of the committee of the deputies, under the chairmanship of the Very Rev. C. E. McAllister, D. D., proved to be a very thorough review of all features of the question. Like the report of the bishops' committee, it favored the continuance of the district. So the synod was unanimous in its recommendation for the district's continuance and the election of a successor to Bishop Sanford as soon as possible.

On account of war conditions, action was postponed until the General Convention, Bishop Sanford serving in charge until his successor should be consecrated. The House of Bishops, when it met, elected the Rev. Sumner Francis Dudley Walters, S. T. D., rector of Trinity Church, San Francisco. The election was confirmed, and Dr. Walters was consecrated in St. James' Cathedral, Fresno, on the Feast of the Epiphany, January 6, 1944.

As soon thereafter as was convenient, Bishop and Mrs. Sanford moved to the home they had prepared in Los Gatos, California, and the District of San Joaquin entered on the third phase of its life.

Appendix I

The Commission of General Convention on Strategy and Policy and the Missionary District of San Joaquin

THE secretary of the Joint Commission of General Convention on Strategy and Policy throughout the six years of its existence, 1937-1943, Canon Walter H. Stowe, submits the following statement of the reasons which lay back of the commission's recommendation that the missionary district of San Joaquin be merged with a contiguous diocese.

CANON STOWE'S STATEMENT

The commission's report to the General Convention of 1940 (*Journal*, 1940, pp.636-657) recommended (p.641), first of all, the reunion of the missionary district of Salina with the diocese of Kansas; second, that

"Missionary districts which have little likelihood of attaining self-support for many years, if ever, (such as Eastern Oregon, North Texas, San Joaquin, and Western Nebraska) should be merged with contiguous dioceses."

In the case of San Joaquin, the facts before us were as follows:

In the twenty years, 1920-1940, the civil population of the district had grown from 449,886 in 1920 to 770,344 in 1940. This was a net increase of 320,458 or 71.2 per cent in the two decades. By 1940 its civil population was larger than that of the diocese of Sacramento, and only 100,000 less than that of the diocese of Oregon.

Yet the Church's statistics indicated that San Joaquin was little if any nearer diocesan status in 1940 than it had been in 1920:

	1920	1930	1940
Civil Population.....	449,886	538,419	770,344
Clergy.....	23	26	23
Parishes and Missions	21	25	25
Baptized Persons.....	(no record)	4,017	4,195
Communicants.....	2,355	2,130	2,836
Sunday Schools:			
Teachers.....	108	141	128
Scholars.....	918	1,087	1,021
Contributions.....	\$58,133.78	\$46,341.11	\$60,594.90

At the end of twenty years, it had no increase in the number of its clergy; only four more congregations; only 481 more communicants; only 20 more Church school teachers and only 113 more scholars; and its total receipts in 1940 were only \$2,461.12 more than they had been in the year 1920—an increase of only 4.2 per cent.

In the light of such factual evidence, there was indeed "little likelihood of [San Joaquin's] attaining self-support for many years, if ever."

Moreover, the commission had before it the case of Western Colorado, which in 1919 had been reunited with the parent diocese of Colorado, and in the opinion of those in a position to know, the results had been satisfactory.

In one case, the recommendation of the commission has been followed: In 1946, the missionary district of Western Nebraska was reunited with the diocese of Nebraska, and the results there during the past decade have justified the merger. Whereas the civil population in the state of Nebraska, 1940-1950, has increased but 7/10th of one per cent, its Church members (baptized persons) have increased 21.6 per cent; and its communicants, 17.3 per cent. On both counts, it ranked third in the Sixth Province. Colorado was first; Wyoming, second.

Quite probably, however, the two decades, 1940-1960, will prove the commission's recommendation in the case of San Joaquin to have been wrong. The statistics for the past decade would appear to point in that direction:

	1940	1950	Increase	
			Number	Per Cent
Civil Population	770,344	1,177,226	406,882	52.8%
Clergy.....	23	34	11	47.8
Parishes and				
Missions.....	25	30	5	20.0
Baptized Persons	4,195	9,145	4,950	117.9
Communicants....	2,836	5,320	2,484	87.5
Sunday Schools:				
Teachers.....	128	222	94	73.4
Scholars.....	1,021	2,291	1,270	124.3
Contributions	\$60,594.90	\$235,135.16	\$174,540.26	288.0

In view of such growth, Bishop Walters was probably quite justified in telling the Committee of the General Convention on Budget and Program, 1952, that within six or nine years—that is, by 1958 or 1961—San Joaquin would become a self-supporting diocese. Although that event, when it happens, will be twenty years after the Commission on Strategy and Policy considered the problem, and although San Joaquin will by then have taken fifty years to become a diocese, the surviving members of the commission, if any, will be happy to have been proved wrong in this instance!

WALTER H. STOWE.

New Light on the Relation of Early American Methodism to the Anglican Clergy in Virginia and North Carolina

By William Warren Sweet*



AMONG the great body of manuscripts which have been gathered at the University of North Carolina are two collections which contain some hitherto unpublished letters shedding additional light upon the relationship of the Methodists and the Anglican clergy in Virginia and North Carolina in the latter years of the 18th century. These collections are the *Dromgoole* and the *Pettigrew* papers. The Dromgoole papers have been recently acquired and therefore have not been formerly known; the Pettigrew papers have been utilized to some extent in the compiling of the *Sketches of Church History in North Carolina* (Wilmington, N. C., 1892) prepared for the joint centennial convention at Tarborough in May 1890.

The letters which are here reproduced are as follows:

Devereux Jarratt to Charles Pettigrew, August 13, 1782

Caleb B. Pedicord to Charles Pettigrew, December 29, 1782

Caleb B. Pedicord to Charles Pettigrew, April 2, 1783

Charles Pettigrew to Francis Asbury, May 1, 1784

Caleb B. Pedicord to Charles Pettigrew, September 6, 1784

Devereux Jarratt to Edward Dromgoole, May 31, 1785

Devereux Jarratt to Edward Dromgoole, March 22, 1788

Devereux Jarratt to William Watters, February 2, 1792

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I.

The Background

Devereux Jarratt, the only Anglican clergyman to give full cooperation to the early American Methodists, has been, until more or less recent years, almost a forgotten figure. His historical significance, however, is being increasingly recognized, both by Episcopalian and Methodist historians, as well as by the general social historian. He has been called, by the former editor of the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, the first great evangelical of the American Episcopal Church, and the father of that movement within that body. By the Methodists he has been characterized as the John Fletcher of American Methodism.¹

A native of Virginia and a nominal Anglican, Jarratt was converted under revivalistic Presbyterian auspices, and after some years of school teaching determined to enter the ministry of the Established Church. Journeying to England for ordination, he returned to Virginia in the summer of 1763, and hearing of a vacant parish—that of Bath—in Dinwiddie county, and after satisfying the legal requirement for assignment to a parish, he immediately settled there, where he remained for nearly forty years, an indefatigable spiritual shepherd until the day of his death in the year 1801. Thoroughly imbued with evangelical zeal, Jarratt at once began to preach personal and experimental religion, a type of religion which he himself had experienced, but something almost entirely unheard of among the Anglican clergy of Virginia. In this emphasis, however, he was in perfect harmony with John Wesley, and long before the first Methodist preachers had arrived in Virginia, Jarratt's parish had become known far and wide as a center of vital religion. His churches were crowded with new hearers, and he began to hold meetings in private houses. Conversions were frequent under such preaching, and strangers from far and near were attracted.

Robert Williams was the first Methodist preacher to visit Virginia, and the first one with whom Jarratt came in contact. He had come to

¹E. Clowes Chorley, *Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church* (New York, Scribner's, 1946), pp. 1-25.

W. W. Sweet, *Men of Zeal: The Romance of American Methodist Beginnings* (New York, The Abingdon Press, 1935), Chapter I, "Devereux Jarratt, Forerunner."

Wesley M. Gewehr, *The Great Awakening in Virginia* (Durham, North Carolina, Duke University Press, 1930), Chapter VI, "Devereux Jarratt and the Methodist Movement."

America in 1769 on his own responsibility, though with John Wesley's consent, and in the course of his itinerating came to Jarratt's house in 1773. Jarratt welcomed him, and he remained a guest in his house for the space of a week. Jarratt states that he liked Williams' preaching "especially the affectionate manner in which his discourses were delivered." Williams assured Jarratt that:

... the Methodists were true members of the Church of England—that their design was to build up and not divide the church . . . that the Methodist preachers did not assume the office of priests nor did they presume to administer the sacraments, but in all cases depended upon the Anglican ministers for them. Their chief concern was simply to "call sinners to repentance" and to form societies for their spiritual edification and improvement.

With such assurances, Jarratt now entered into full cooperation with the Methodists.

Soon after his first contact with Williams, Jarratt wrote to John Wesley² describing the low state of religion in Virginia. He tells of the lack of "faithful ministers of the gospel"; speaks of his cooperation with Robert Williams and of Joseph Pilmoor's tour through Virginia; and closes by urging Wesley to send a minister of the Church of England to the one vacant parish in Virginia so that there might be two evangelical clergymen to assist the Methodist itinerants and to administer the sacraments to the newly formed Methodist societies. If John Wesley could have been able to follow Jarratt's suggestion, and if a Church of England clergyman sympathetic with the Wesleyan movement had come out to Virginia, Anglican-Methodist relationship in America might well have been far different.

Beginning in 1775 and continuing through 1776, a great revival spread through the counties surrounding Jarratt's parish, carried on by Methodist lay itinerants who now had grown to a considerable number, and Jarratt was kept busy traveling through a wide region administering the sacraments to the newly formed Methodist societies. He states that his labors during these years carried him into twenty-nine counties of Virginia and North Carolina. Both Jarratt and his wife received the Methodist preachers with open arms. It is significant that the best and fullest account of this revival was written by Devereux

²This letter is published in the *Arminian Magazine*, 1786, p. 397. Joseph Pilmoor was one of John Wesley's first official missionaries sent to America in 1769. Pilmoor, also spelled "Pilmore," did not join in the Methodist secession. In 1785, he was ordained by Bishop Samuel Seabury of Connecticut, on recommendation of Charles Wesley among others. See N. W. Rightmyer, "Joseph Pilmore (1739-1825), Anglican Evangelical," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* . . . , XVI (1947), 181-198.

Jarratt, which he sent to Francis Asbury to be forwarded to John Wesley. This account Asbury copied in full in his *Journal*, where it fills sixteen pages,³ and is by far the best account of this phase of the Virginia awakening. Jarratt fitted up his barn for Methodist preaching, formed his members into "classes," Methodist fashion, and attended the Methodist Conferences. In his *Journal*, April 1, 1784, Asbury notes:

After passing through Brunswick circuit, I preached at Jarratt's barn. Mr. Jarratt was very kind and the people very attentive.⁴

Devereux Jarratt continued to give full support to the Methodists throughout the Revolution, and the membership of Methodist societies in the counties surrounding Jarratt's parish grew rapidly throughout the war years. Between 1777 and 1783, Methodist membership in America increased from 6,968 to 13,740, two-thirds of the increase being in Maryland and Virginia. Jarratt was kept busy traveling over a wide area administering the sacraments, but he could not keep pace with the itinerants. As a consequence, there arose a demand that Methodist preachers be empowered to administer the sacraments. At the first Methodist Conference held in Philadelphia in 1773, one of the rules adopted was that the "people among whom we labour (are) earnestly exhorted to attend the Church and receive the ordinances there," and particularly was this rule to be pressed among the people of Maryland and Virginia.⁵ Another rule states further that the preachers were "strictly to avoid administering the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper." Naturally Jarratt was in full harmony with these rules, and when at the Fluvanna Conference in Virginia in 1779 the preachers determined to assume that function, Jarratt was alienated and was only placated when the Conference the next year agreed to abandon the practice. Jarratt states in his *Autobiography*:

In order to remedy the complaint of the want of ordinances, and to render them steady to the church in the future, I took long rides through several circuits, to baptize their children, administer the sacraments, etc. All this I did without fee or reward, and I continued so to do as long as the Methodists stood to their profession.⁶

The Methodist Conference of 1782 was held in Ellis' Preaching House, Sussex County, Virginia, which joined Jarratt's parish on the

³Devereux Jarratt, *Autobiography*, originally written as a series of letters to the Reverend John Coleman (Baltimore, 1806).

⁴*Journal of Reverend Francis Asbury, Bishop of The Methodist Episcopal Church*, 3 vols. (New York, Lane & Scott, 1852), I, pp. 208-224.

⁵*Journal*, I, *op. cit.*, p. 471.

⁶See *Minutes of Conferences, 1773-1823*, Vol. I., p. 5.

south. Jarratt attended throughout the entire session and preached each day. He promised his Methodist brethren to "satisfy the just wants of the people, to visit all the circuits he could and to administer the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper." In return for his hearty cooperation the Conference adopted the following:

"The Conference acknowledge their obligation to the Reverend Mr. Jarratt for his kind and friendly services to the preachers and people from our first entrance into Virginia, and more particularly for attending our Conference in Sussex, in public and private; and advise the preachers in the south to consult him, and take his advice, in the absence of Brother Asbury."

Philip Gatch, who with William Watters were the first two native Americans to become full-fledged circuit riders, served as preacher on the Hanover circuit in Virginia in 1776, and held a place of leadership among the early itinerants. He pays this tribute to Jarratt's cooperation with the early Methodists in Virginia:

He laboured extensively, and was very useful. Several preachers were raised up under his ministry, who became connected with our society, and some of them itinerated. He fitted up his barn for our accomodation, and it became a regular preaching place, where Quarterly Meetings were occasionally held. The hospitality of his house were generously conferred upon us, while he was truly a nursing father to Methodist preachers.⁷

When in 1784 the American Methodists broke their slender ties with the American Anglicans, Jarratt was given no warning as to what was pending. To him it was a bitter blow, as the following comment indicates:

Before the close of this same year [1784] he [Asbury] and the whole body of Methodists broke off from the church, at a single stroke!—It was certainly the greatest change (apparently at least) that ever was known to take place, in so short a time, since the foundation of a Christian Church was laid. They embraced a new faith, and it showed itself by their works, for from that memorable period, old things were done away—their old mother, to whom they had avowed so much duty and fidelity, was discarded, and violently opposed.⁸

Once separated from the Episcopalians, his former friends among the Methodist itinerants avoided him, probably ashamed to face him. It was a time of rapid growth among the Virginia Methodists, but it was a period of steady decline among the Episcopalians, which did not

⁷John M'Lean, *Sketch of Reverend Philip Gatch* (Cincinnati, 1854), pp. 52-53.

⁸Jarratt, *Autobiography*, p. 114.

make for the aging Jarratt a cheerful prospect. Jarratt states that he was vilified and became the principal butt for attack, because he "still clave to the church." "If I did err," he states, "in giving countenance to the Methodists, on their coming to Virginia, they have sufficiently punished me for it."

Dr. Thomas Coke was one of Jarratt's principal critics among the Methodists, the chief reason being the fact that Jarratt was a relatively large slave owner, and because of that Coke accused him of bringing harm to the cause of religion. The following extracts from Coke's *Journal* show his strong aversion to Jarratt's slave holding:

Here I met [Roanoke Chapel, Virginia] with Mr. Jarratt. After duty he went with me to our Brother Seward's [in the state of Virginia] about 8 miles off. We now talked largely on the Minutes concerning slavery: but he would not be persuaded. The secret is, he has twenty-four slaves of his own: but I am afraid he will do infinite hurt by his opposition to our Rules.⁹

A day later he confides to his *Journal*:

On the 7th passed by the house of Mr. Jarratt that violent asserter of the propriety and justice of Negro slavery. At noon I preached at White Oak Chapel and lodged that night at the house of Brother Rees, one of our Local preachers, a friend of God and Man. He lives just by Mr. Jarratt and is the great bar in the hands of God to that fallen man's ruining our whole work in that neighborhood. For his influence among those who are both within and without, is I believe three times as great as that of [Jarratt].¹⁰

These extracts show clearly the sharp animus Coke entertained against Jarratt for his slave holding, and will explain Jarratt's attempt to justify his position in the two letters addressed to his old friend Edward Dromgoole.

In a letter Dr. Coke wrote to Bishop William White, April 24, 1791, proposing a reunion of the Methodists with the Episcopalians, he states that he has written a "penetential letter" to Devereux Jarratt to make amends for his sharp criticism of him published in "our magazines." He also offers apologies to Bishop White and Dr. Magaw for the use of their churches "six years ago on my first visit to Philadelphia, without informing them of our plans of separation from the Church of England." In other words, he is now attempting to make amends to all the American Episcopalians he may have offended, in the interests of a possible

⁹Extracts from the *Journal of the Reverend Dr. Coke's Five Visits to America* (London, 1793), pp. 32-33.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 39.

reunion. This helps to explain the changed temper displayed by Jarratt toward the Methodists in his letters after 1791. The following letter written by Jarratt to Dr. Coke, dated April 19, 1791, tells the story of reconciliation which followed Coke's letter of apology.

Reverend and dear Sir:

Tho I assured you yesterday, that you had a full and free pardon, for any fault you may have committed in the publication of your Journal, as far as it respected me; yet as you wish to have the assurance of it from under my hand, I have snatched a little time to give you that satisfaction. And I do here assure you, dear Sir, that you are not only pardoned by me, but have also gained an increase of my esteem for you by the Spirit in which your letter to me was written, and the frank and truly candid manner, in which you have acknowledged, what you thought to be faulty, and justly offensive. I shall say no more on this hand, but wish it to be forever buried in oblivion.

I am not altogether a stranger to the great and extensive labors, in which you and my justly admired friend Mr. Asbury are engaged; and have therefore no right to expect a formal visit from either of you. But should it ever be convenient, and consistent with your main design to call on me, and spend some time in my house, I should esteem it a great favor, would thank you sincerely, and do everything in my power to do, to make you both happy while you shall think proper to continue under the Shadow of my Roof. Wishing you may be the instrument of bringing many souls to Glory, I conclude

Your sincere Friend and
Brother in Christ,

DEVEREUX JARRATT.¹¹

Charles Pettigrew was a native of Pennsylvania (born March 20, 1743) of French, Scotch and Irish background. His father and mother came to America in 1740 from County Tyrone, Ireland, having become estranged from their families because of religious differences. The family migrated to Virginia and in 1768 to North Carolina. Here Charles studied with Rev. Henry Patillo, a native of Scotland and the leading Presbyterian minister of that colony, who conducted a school along with his ministerial duties. Although a Presbyterian, Pettigrew was placed at the head of an Anglican school at Edenton. Later he decided to join the Anglican Church, and in 1774 went to England to be ordained to the priesthood. He returned on the last ship that sailed before the Revolution, and became the rector of the St. Paul's Anglican

¹¹A copy of the above letter is now in the Emory Collection of MSS, Drew Theological Seminary, in Madison, New Jersey. It was copied by LeRoy Lee from the original which has evidently been lost or destroyed.

Church at Edenton. His biographer in the *Dictionary of American Biography* makes no mention of his contacts with the early American Methodists, but the letters here published for the first time show that he knew of their work and was entirely sympathetic with it.

The four Methodist preachers with whom he exchanged letters—Francis Asbury, Caleb Peddicord, Edward Dromgoole and William Watters—are well known in early American Methodist history. Francis Asbury will need no identification.

Caleb Peddicord was a native of the western shore of Maryland, evidently one of Robert Strawbridge's converts, and was admitted on trial at the Conference held in Harford County, Maryland, in 1777. In 1782, he was one of the preachers on the Sussex circuit, and in 1783, the date of the second letter, he was on the Mecklenburg circuit with Edward Dromgoole and Henry Merritt as his colleagues. Peddicord was among the most able and devout of the early Methodist preachers, and was greatly beloved.¹²

Edward Dromgoole was a native of Ireland, born in Sligo county, and was reared a Roman Catholic. Converted by Wesleyan missionaries in his home land, he made a public recantation of Roman Catholicism in 1770, which may have been a reason for his coming to the American colonies that year. He landed in Baltimore and made his way inland to Frederick county, where his religious experience was renewed under the influence of the free lance Irish Methodist preacher, Robert Strawbridge. Dromgoole began to preach in 1773, and the following year his name appears among those admitted on trial at the second Methodist Conference (1774) held in America.¹³ For twelve years, or from 1774 to 1786, he served as a circuit preacher, much of the time on Virginia circuits. In 1785, the date of the first letter from Jarratt, he was on the Brunswick circuit, and at the time of the second letter, dated 1788, he had settled down as a planter in Brunswick county, having married in 1777. He prospered in material things but continued an active local preacher throughout his life. Two of his sons became local preachers, and his youngest son, Thomas, served as a member of Congress from Virginia. Dromgoole and Asbury were devoted friends, and Jarratt's home was a favorite stopping place of the pioneer bishop.¹⁴

William Watters, to whom Devereux Jarratt addresses the letter

¹²W. W. Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier: Vol. IV., The Methodists* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1946), pp. 9-11. See also John Lednum, *A History of the Rise of Methodism in America, Containing Sketches of Methodist Itinerant Preachers from 1736-1783*, etc. (Philadelphia, 1859), p. 201, and other scattered references.

¹³*Minutes of Conferences, 1773-1828*, p. 6.

¹⁴W. W. Scott, *Religion on the American Frontier: Vol. IV, The Methodist*, pp. 123-124.

dated February 2, 1792, was the first native American to become a full fledged Methodist preacher. He was born in Maryland in 1751, and was one of Robert Williams' converts. He began preaching in 1772, and was admitted on trial to the Conference the following year. Having married, he ceased to travel a regular circuit in 1783, though he resumed traveling from 1801-1805. During his first twelve years as a circuit rider, he served three circuits in Virginia—the Brunswick, the Fairfax and the Fluvanna—and it is evident that he and Jarratt had become known to each other during the great Virginia Revival. That friendship had evidently continued. Watters was "located" in 1783, having married, and was living in Fairfax County at the time Jarratt addressed the above letter to him.

A short time after the Christmas Conference, at which the Methodist Episcopal Church had been formed, Dr. Coke and Francis Asbury were interviewed by two Anglican clergymen, John Andrews and William West, both in charge of parishes in Baltimore county, who suggested that when Episcopal bishops were secured in America, special bishops for the American Methodists might be consecrated. At the time, both Coke and Asbury saw no advantage in such an arrangement. In 1791, however, Coke seems to have changed his mind in regard to the possibility of bringing about some such arrangement, and wrote to Bishop William White proposing a reunion with the Episcopalians. He stated that he had no doubt but that John Wesley would favor reunion, since he believed Wesley had not intended an entire separation from the Episcopalians.¹⁵ In Bishop White's reply to Coke's letter, he agreed to a meeting with Coke, stating that he thought that the difficulties standing in the way of reunion were not insuperable, providing "there be a conciliatory disposition on both sides." A few weeks later, Coke wrote to Bishop Samuel Seabury on the same subject (May 14, 1791), proposing that he and Asbury be consecrated as "bishops of the Methodist Society in the Protestant Episcopal Church, (or by any other title, if that be not proper)." The letter closes with the statement, "I most cordially wish for a reunion of the Protestant Episcopal and the Methodist churches in these states. The object is of vast magnitude."¹⁶

¹⁵Letter from Thomas Coke to the "Right Reverend Father in God, Bishop White," in *Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, etc.* (Philadelphia, 1820), Appendix, pp. 424-429, dated April 24, 1791. See the summary of these negotiations in W. W. Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier*, Vol. IV., *The Methodists*, pp. 23-30. Also, W. W. Manross, *A History of the American Episcopal Church* (New York and Milwaukee, 1935), p. 205 ff.

¹⁶See facsimile of Coke's letters to Seabury in *Fac-Similes of Church Documents of the Right Reverend Samuel Seabury, etc.* (Boston, 1881), pp. 400-401.

Evidently Bishop Seabury did not agree as to the "vast importance" of the proposal, for he did not answer Coke's letter. This may be explained partly by the fact that he evidently knew little or nothing about the American Methodist movement, since it had not as yet entered New England. Bishop James Madison, the first Episcopal bishop of Virginia (consecrated September 19, 1790), knew however that the Methodist withdrawal from the Episcopal Church was a serious matter for his Church in Virginia, which led him in 1792 to submit a proposal to the House of Bishops to reunite the Methodists with the Episcopalians. Although his proposal was for conferences with "Christians of other denominations," he undoubtedly had in mind particularly the Methodists, and was undoubtedly motivated by Coke's proposals. Such is the background of Devereux Jarratt's suggestion in his letter to William Watters that he receive ordination at the hands of Bishop Madison of Virginia.

When Bishop Madison submitted his proposals to the General Convention, the House of Bishops was agreeable to them, but when referred to the House of Deputies they were rejected "as tending to produce distrust of the stability of the Episcopal Church, without the least prospect of embracing any other religious body." This brought to an end the attempts to bring the American Methodists back into the Episcopalian fold, and as Tiffany states, this was the great mistake of this period. Had that union occurred, "both parties to it would have immensely benefitted, and the influence of these united forces would have constituted the great Christian power of the continent. But no one had the gift of prophecy."¹⁷

In Dr. Coke's letter to Bishop William White, he had expressed the desire to settle the matter of reunion with the Episcopalians before Wesley's death, believing that Wesley's approval would settle the issue. Wesley's death on March 2, 1791, changed the entire situation, and Coke hurried back to England. From then on Coke's influence among the American Methodists declined, and the gulf between the American Episcopalians and the Methodists steadily widened, as the Methodist movement spread rapidly over the new nation.¹⁸

¹⁷For an account of these negotiations, see C. C. Tiffany, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States* (New York, 1895), pp. 403-409.

¹⁸See W. W. Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier*: Vol. IV., *The Methodists*, Chapter II.

II.

The Letters

—1—

[DEVEREUX JARRATT TO CHARLES PETTIGREW:]

Virginia, August 13, 1782

Reverend and dear Sir:

It has been observed the men of our order are but thinly scattered at this time, in the United States of America; that there is a consumption of the few every year, and the small remains do not seek to strengthen each others hands and to encourage each other to hold by and support the tottering ark as could devoutly be wished. What can this be owing to? Perhaps to a too great disunion of heart and statement among ourselves. Once I had a brother or two who were very closely connected in love and opinion, but one of these is gone into eternity and the other turned dissenter from the church. In my present state of bereavement, being happy in hearing of your labours in the cause of God[']s Truth, I have turned my eyes towards you, with an intention, if you be like minded, of entering upon maintaining a close connection and correspondence from this time. If I mistake not you are like minded with myself. I was glad to hear of your attendance at a late Quarter-Meeting and of the Friendship you show and the assistance you give to the Methodists. They are the only people that I know of whose labours are considerably blest to the salvation of souls; they have given the most striking and indubitable testimonies of their love and adherence to that church of which you and I have the honour to be ministers. They therefore claim a right to our patronage, countenance and assistance. Some, no doubt, may view us with an evil eye for so doing and we may forfeit the good opinion of the worldly wise and great—but what of this? If we seek to please men, we are not the servants of Christ. If we can do good or be a means by our counsel, direction, or aid of helping others to be useful in the work of promoting the best interests of mankind—can we live to better purpose? For my part, I would desire to seek nothing but God, and to promote his glory and to please all men to their beatification only.

I shall expect to hear from you. The preachers [Methodists] have such connection that you might send me a letter at any time by putting it into one of their hands. I conclude.

Your sincere friend and brother in Christ

DEVEREUX JARRATT.

-2-

[DEVEREUX JARRATT TO EDWARD DROMGOOLE:]

May 31, 1785

Dear Sir:

My not being at the conference was not owing to want of inclination, but not being invited by either of the superintendents, I imagined my company was not desired; and since, I have been more convinced of it for I wrote to Dr. Coke intreating both him and Mr. Asbury to pay me a visit before they left the state, to which the Doctor did not even vouch safe a verbal answer, and Mr. Asbury a very slight one. If ever I was worthy of the love and esteem of Mr. Asbury or any preacher in connection with him, I am so still. For I am the same both in principle and practice as I was the first day he ever saw me. I have suffered no change at all. I love and honour those who fear the Lord, let their station in life be what it will; but my peculiar attachment has been to the Methodists: and considering the persecution I have suffered on their account, the many hundreds of miles I have rode through all weathers and at all seasons to serve them in every respect. I cannot conceive how I have deserved to be treated as coldly, to say the least. Surely it proceeds from no good Spirit. However I am no stranger to such treatment. I had a good deal of it in the time of the Dodi-mann Affair, and for the same reason, because I advised against it and pointed out the destructive and divirsive consequences of it and this is all I have done in the case of the late minister, which, as I foretold, have already done more harm than the united efforts of all the preachers, I fear, will ever do good.

I have been lately favoured with a letter from one who subscribes himself (without any ceremony of your friend, or brother, or humble servant, etc.) James Haw.¹⁹ But his letter is much in the language of a dictator and the expressions so round and abusive that as I never have been accustomed to answer such letters, so I shall decline answering his. However, I think if the gentleman, whoever he is, had a little more modesty and less assurance, it would do him no harm; nor would it hurt the cause he seems to espouse: for Virginians may be led, but not drove; and will listen to Scripture and arguments from thence fairly derived, much sooner than to the hard words of thief, villian, unjustly without any Scripture to support them. This is not the way to convert men over to opinions, much less to seal Christianity.

As you have ever discovered a steadiness in your principles and an affection for me, even in times of general revolt, I thought I would

¹⁹James Haw was the junior preacher on the Brunswick circuit, associated with Edward Dromgoole. James Haw later joined the Republican Methodists and ended his ministerial career as a Cumberland Presbyterian, with whom he exercised considerable influence. W. W. Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier*, Vol. II, *The Presbyterians*, pp. 282-283 ff. Evidently Haw was denouncing Jarratt's slave-holding.

unburden my mind a little to you, though could I see you, I would talk a great deal more.

I conclude.

Your affectionate friend and brother,

DEVEREUX JARRATT.

—3—

[DEVEREUX JARRATT TO EDWARD DROMGOOLE:]

Saturday, March 22, 1788

Dear Sir:

Ever since I first had the pleasure of being acquainted with you I have had a peculiar attachment to you, and as far as I am able to judge from anything I have heard, or seen or know in you, you are not wanting in esteem of me: for this reason I have sometimes made free to unburden myself to you on some particular occasions and to no other person.

Through mercy there has been with the space of twelve months a glorious revival of religion and a large ingathering of souls to the Lord, the far greater part of which still continue to pursue their faith by their works. But since the last visit of the Elder the prospect is greatly altered and obscured and a black ill boding cloud has invaded the face of the sky, instead of love, harmony, unanimity, etc. heart burnings, bickerings reproaches etc. have taken place, and vent themselves in language almost intolerable, and which, in my humble opinion, is very unsuitable the lips of a Christian to the vilest heretic. Even allowing that those who retain bondmen are wrong in so doing, yet I should think they ought not to be put upon a level, (as they are now) with horsethieves and hogstealers and knaves etc; nor to be insulted at every turn with the odious name of oppressors, rogues, and men destitute of even heathen honesty, etc. I say I think this ought not to be done especially as they suppose they are warranted in their practice by the example of Abraham, Isaac and all the ancient people of God; and not only those, but by the writings of the apostles, whose directions and exhortations to bond and free incline them to believe that such stations and relations were to exist under the Gospel, otherwise thirty or forty verses might as well be blotted out of the New Testament as being of no practical use. Nay they had much better be blotted because, if the practice is wrong, they very naturally tend to lead men into deception. If it be said the apostles speak of hired servants only, Mr. Wesley knew better and has declared it and I know better. The Greek words for a hired servant and slave differ as much as Peter and Dick. The one is *Misthios*, a hired servant, and the other is *Doulos*, a slave. Now as the Brethren who hold slaves have all this on their side and the judgment of the greatest, the best and wisest of commentators also, I think at least they ought to be judged honest men and not put upon a footing with thieves of every kind, etc. I profess it

argues a great share of religion in the people that have so patiently borne with such insults, and from whom do they come? Why you must know, generally speaking, that they come from men, who are incapable of discerning or judging in these matters as a school boy almost. A fire indeed is gone out, but not from God; Allac.

I hope you won't understand that I am writing to you to prove the innocence or lawfulness of Slavery.—No—I know not your opinion in it, nor do I wish to know—Be your Opinion what it will, I do not even wish to alter it. If our sentiments should not be alike in it, I agree to disagree, and never say a word about it. I stand neuter, I neither persuade nor dissuade anyone to this or that in the Case. And tho I have received many a keen letter, I have never answered one.—I love the Methodists for their Works sake. And if some of their Conduct towards me has been unkind and childish, I bear it very well; I was a Child once myself.—They tell me I must go to hell; but I bless God I know better.—However the People and local Preachers who have this Sentence pronounced on them are uneasy because it breaks all Communion: but I don't care a straw for it—Once My Asbury seemed to think Nothing could be done so well without me—but now he thinks I have done more harm than all the Preachers have done good—but I know to the Contrary.—Frank [Asbury] ought to have been the last Man to say this for I don't believe he can produce one Soul for all his travels and preaching in Virginia. But, blessed, ever blessed be God, he has given me many who I trust will be my Crown of rejoicing at last. As I wrote the last Sentence I looked on the Table and saw a letter, I got from Mr. Pedicord, in the year 1783! I took it up and in reading I found these words—. "It is not to be wondered that you wish us success, when every day there are several preachers, in different counties endeavouring to build up and strengthen those who will be your Crown of rejoicing for ever and ever."—Let God have all the Praise and honour—but how different did Mr. Pedicord, who is now with God, think from what Frank [Asbury] does?—I freely forgive him and the rest all the Injuries they attempt to do me; I say attempt—for they can't injure me. I am sensible, many of the Preachers have made it their Business to prejudice others against me as much as possible, b(eliev)ing hereby, perhaps, they did God service; so that several Preachers com [illegible] far have been as shy of me as if I was a fury, a sworn ene(my). Time, without any effort of my own, has so convinced them to (illegible) that they have been amazed—But I do from my Heart f(orgive) them, and I don't intend ever to mention anything about it to anyone but always treat every one as familiarly as ever—and do a(ll) to assist them in the work of saving souls—

I am your friend and Brother

DEVEREUX JARRATT.²⁰

N. B. Hear what you will—You may be sure my opinion of Methodism is still the same as at the first—

²⁰This confidential letter indicates that the friendship between Devereux Jarratt and Edward Dromgoole was of long standing. Dromgoole had retired from the active work as a traveling preacher two years previous to the writing of this letter, and was living on his plantation in Brunswick County.

—4—

[DEVEREUX JARRATT TO WILLIAM WATTERS]

Dinwiddie, February 2, 1792

Dear Sir:

Your very kind and friendly letter came safe to hand, by Mr. G——g, for which I thank you. I am glad to hear that your labors are both acceptable and profitable.

When I hinted to you what I did, respecting your being ordained by our Bishop, I knew nothing of your situation and connections, nor in what manner you were employed. But on being informed by you, and also by the little Man, how you were situated, connected and employed, I would by no means persuade you to alter your line of conduct; for all things considered, a change at this time of day might be for the worse and not the better. I mean, your usefulness to souls might be less than it is at present. I therefore leave it entirely to your own thoughts, and if you should wish to take orders in the Old Church, Mr. Fairfax can inform you of all the necessary steps, and I shall not be wanting in any friendly office I could discharge, in order to further the accomplishment of your wishes. True, our Church stands in great need of pious labourers, men who have the Love of God and the Power of Religion in their own souls; nor do I expect she can or will prosper till she is blessed with such: but as the salvation of my dear fellow-mortals is the only thing I wish for. If this is promoted, I care for no more. Names and parties I disavow: let God send by the hand of whom he will send, whether by a clergyman or a layman, if His name is glorified and souls converted, I will therein rejoice.

You may have heard (for it has been often said in this part of the country) that I am an opposer of the Methodists, but be assured it is far from me. I have no more design of opposing them, or any other Church, than of forming a Party to overturn the Federal Constitution. And those that would insinuate any such thing, do me much wrong. And here I am led to answer one of the Questions, which you propose in your Letter. You ask, "If you should take orders in the Church, (you ask), may you have the same friendship with the Methodists as before." I answer. you might if you could. Our Church does not forbid it. But if the Methodists to the North are as liked minded with those in the South, there can be no such thing. This I know by long experience and repeated trials. I am happy to be informed that the Methodists in Maryland and that way, are not so contracted in their sentiments as they are here. And perhaps they would be more liberal and less bigotted here than they are, were it not for some leading characters.

At the earnest request of a worthy good Man, who is a local Preacher, I wrote my thoughts (in the year 1790) on Justification, etc. This I did merely for his Instruction, and with no intention of their be-

ing made public. But last year at the request of the little Man, Mr. Glendenning, I agreed to have them printed. This I did to serve him, and at the same time hoped the Publication might be of more general use. But before the piece came to hand, contrary to that Charity which thinketh no evil, it was spread abroad, by a leading man, that I had waged war against the Methodists, and had set Glendenning to work against them. So far was this from my intention that the Methodists were more particularly the persons I intended to befriend, both in the writing and publication. So you see how the case stands with me. However, I am consoled in this, that the Lord knows my heart and the way I take. I pray for a single eye and pure intention. I am determined never to rest till the Lord gives me a Clean Heart—and implants a right Spirit within me.

I shall expect a letter from you when the little man returns. At present, I conclude with my love to you and your family.

I am your most sincere friend and affectionate Brother

DEVEREUX JARRATT.

To Mr. William Watters
Preacher of the Gospel
in Fairfax County, Virginia

—5—

[CALEB B. PEDICORD TO CHARLES PETTIGREW]

[December 29, 1782]

Reverend Sir,

Your friendly Letter, came soon and safe to hand. I have read it with pleasure and profit. And feel thankful that I have those who administer suitable instruction, and naturally care for my soul's welfare and usefulness. How good a thing it is to have union and fellowship though only by letter, it is but a little while and we shall meet to superior advantage, to rest together in the paradise of God above in glory. Since my last, I have been rather poorly in health but have continued to fill up my appointments, and labour tho with weakness, yet I hope with a measure of sincerity and fidelity. I have the comfort to see and feel Religion is still upon the advance. The will of some who were obstinate are conquered by grace, and others are swiftly won over to our Emanuel, upon the whole good is doing. To *him* be the glory. Mr. Asbury it lately from the North a man full of faith of the Holy Ghost, he enjoys health of body, and is intent upon bringing extensive glory to the Redeemer. He brings the comfortable news of the work of God prospering, and in every Northward Circuit sinners awakened to feel their guilt and wretchedness, and mourners comforted with pard(on)-

ing love, whilst Believers are looking for purity of holy love and a renewal throughout, pleading the *rich* and precious promises, and longing to feel *his* grace circulating, through-out their Sanctified powers. I lately saw Mr. Allen, who enjoys more health than formerly, he rides over Loan Oak in this State.^{20-a} I am very glad that Mr. (x) Drumgolde met with desired success. I have no doubt but that his tour was by divine appointment, and under supernatural direction. I do believe, Dear Sir, that it would be pleasing to God, and a great benefit to the people, if you are enabled to visit a few of the many vacancies in any state. It is a great pity that your usefulness in general should be confined to the small circle of a neighbourhood, when there are so many sheep without a shepherd. "Wandering up on the dark mountains!" I am authorized from Mr. Asbury to give you an affectionate invitation to our Conference in the spring; his modesty prevents him from writing to you. He has heard of your disinterested acts of friendship and your labour among us which gives him great satisfaction. He is the person referred to in the beginning of Mr. Magaw's letter to Mr. Jar-ratt. (He wishes, and has it in contemplation, to introduce a correspondence between Mr. Pettigrew and Mr. Magaw) As he labours six months in the North and six in the South and our preachers passing and repassing.

I feel great tenderness towards you and desire to pray for your health and usefulness. My kind love to your amiable consort.

I remain your friend and servant,

CALEB B. PEDICORD.

Barter County, Dec. 29, 1782 (Col) Campbells

Your former friendship encourages me to hope, that you will please to give us your attendance (if convenient at our Quad. Meeting at St. Johns Chapel. February 1. 2 days. being Sat. and Sun.)

—6—

[CALEB B. PEDICORD TO CHARLES PETTIGREW]

2 April, 1783

Reverend Sir:

Gratitude and duty forbids my omitting any opportunity of writing to you. And altho I have nothing worth writing, yet as a manifestation of my unalterable respect and affection, I have taken up my pen.

After leaving your house, I traveled through Gates County when for a year or two past, the Lord hath wrought great things. A goodly number have obtained pardoning mercy, and are striving for the fulfillment of all the rich and precious promises. Others brought to know

^{20-a} "Loan Oak" should probably be "Roan Oak." Roanoke was often spelled "Roan Oak," and there was a Methodist Roanoke Chapel.

their day and feel their danger, and are longing to know that the Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins. Some are measurably awakened. And too, too many who are carnal, careless, and confident.

I have the pleasure to inform you that the work of God deepens in the hearts of professors, in this Circuit. By the ardent labours of Brother Allen and others, many were brought under tender impressions. And as I among others succeeded them, it costs me tears of fear lest the travel of the souls of my Brethren the Preachers should miscarry in my hands, and through my great ignorance and weakness. But blessed be God. His hand is made bare, and you know Sir when he will, who shall (stop) it.—Hitherto the Lord hath helped me and others. As the residence of the Spirit is with him he may pour it out, and claim the whole world for his ransomed ones.—I think I can say my heart is engaged with God and in his work, but never felt myself more needy. I am brought to feel my very foolishness. O that I could do something for that great Supreme (Being), to whom I owe my all, yea more than all.

I am now at Cole Campbells^{20-b} (a family I hope who are desirous of adorning the Gospel and showing forth the praises of *him* who has called them to obtain precious salvation and intend to continue in this side of the river till Conference.)

I should be very much rejoiced and feel it my duty to give you an invitation to our Quarter Meeting; but do hope your health will admit, and that you will please to attend our Conference. I think I could venture to say it would give you pleasure as well as do us honour.

I can only add I want to be an humble, holy, man of God. O Sir help me by your prayers. That I may meekly bear up under all the shocks that necessarily attack a person, who acts in a public capacity and endeavours to weaken the Kingdom of darkness. My natural cast and temper are much against me, being timid and fearful. O that I may weather the storms of this painful state of trial, and at last obtain an humble mansion among the blood washed throng above.—I feel great tenderness for you and family. Whilst I write it moves upon my heart. There are also a few Names in Edenton who I hope will never quit their confidence, or slacken their diligence. I felt great union with them as Christians. O that the Lord may not cut Israel short in Their Teachers, but spare you Sir to be useful to them. My heart's desire is to see a revival of the work of God, and altho I can do little in furthering so good and great a work yet notwithstanding, I can look on and rejoice at the success of others.—May the dew of heaven, water your Ministerial labours and overflowing comfort fill the heart of your amiable consort. May your children become a lasting comfort. And finally may the blessed God receive you all to glory—

Is the fervent prayer of
Your Friend and Servant

CALEB B. [PEDICORD].

^{20-b} Probably Col. Campbells.

April 2nd 1783

Barter County (

Campbell)

I am but poorly in health but can rejoice that you enjoy again a measure of that distinguishing blessing health. I expect an health body and an holy Soul are rare.

—7—

[EDWARD DROMGOOLE TO CHARLES PETTIGREW]

Col. Campbells

September 6th, 1784

Reverend and Dear Sir:

Yesterday your kind letter came to my hands, which was thankfully received, and look upon myself by no means worthy of the notice of the Servants of God. I have sometimes had a deep sense of my very great unworthiness, and I feel myself sunk below my fellow creatures, and their every mercy is great in my eyes; if I am at any time grateful it is then.

I wished to have seen you at our Q. M. G. [Quarterly Meeting Gathering] but can by no means indulge a hard thought, or lay it in the least degree to the want of Affection. No I could alledge several things to prevent your coming, and know this world we live in so well that I am convinced, we are often crossed in those things we most desire. Brother Ivey and Ogburn attended, and I trust the Lord was in a measure with us. His holy Name be praised.

It is a matter of thanksgiving to me, to hear from the lower circuit, especially, to hear that the work of God prospers among them. I felt a longing desire for the Salvation of this people, and was in hopes from the first time I went among them, they would receive the truth in the love thereof. I should be glad, was it in my power, to visit them frequently but my distance from them, renders it impossible, however, I hope they have those that are more faithful and useful. I was thankful to hear that you made a journey thro' those parts in the spring. I have no doubt but that the good effect of it will be seen after many days. I desire to go once more around that circuit, either this fall or in the winter.

Should a convenient opportunity offer, I should be (glad) to see the Magazines, and peruse them before (going) thro' those parts, which will be about Christmas; that is if you have done with them; otherwise I am quite contented not to have them.

Our next Quarterly Meeting I expect will be at Outlaws Chapel, on the 30th and 31st days of October, which place is about 12 or 14 miles from Col. Campbell; if your health and other business should permit you to attend, I hope it would be for the Glory of God, and the

advancement of the dear Redeemer's Kingdom. The work here²¹ wants a great deal of nursing, the most so of any place, I think ever I traveled; there are many weak and sickly among us, and some I fear have fallen asleep; but still there is a good work begun; I hope many adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour. I fear I shall weary your patience with this uncouth Epistle.

I often think of the few at Edenton, who loved the Gospel, and I should be glad to hear from them, whether they still continue in love and have the Word of Life. I must conclude, after begging an interest in your prayers. I am with real love and much respect,

Yours in the Gospel

EDWARD DROMGOOLE

My kind respects to Mrs. Pettigrew.

[To Charles Pettigrew,
Edenton, North Carolina]

—8—

[CHARLES PETTIGREW TO FRANCIS ASBURY]

Edenton (North Carolina) May 1st, 1784

My dear Sir,

Your friendly letter 13th (of) March claims my grateful acknowledg'm't, and with pleasure I re-echo your introductory sentiments of congratulations in the grateful Return of spring,

The little birds, now on the wing
From spray to spray,
Preach all the Day,
While in sweet artless notes they sing
Their Maker's praise:
But man delays
This tribute to the 'ternal King.

I am happy to find that with unwearied zeal and patience you have completed so large a Circuit, hope your labors have not been in vain in the Lord—

I should be glad to a personal acquaintance with the Reverend Mr.

²¹Edward Dromgoole during the year 1784 was "riding" the Bertie Circuit in North Carolina. He had been assigned to this circuit at the Conference meeting in Sussex county in Ellis' Meeting house in April. Devereux Jarratt was present at the Conference, and, as Asbury records in his *Journal*, (Vol. I., pp. 472-473) "Mr. Jarratt gave us a good discourse on 1 Tim. 1, 4."

Blaunt^{21-a} from the character I have also had of him, but he seems to be too remote for an interview, and I have always laboured under perhaps a culpable Backwardness to him, so that I may learn how he stands affected to Religion, as the Clergy, it must be owned, are not always the most pious men;—nor even friends to vital, and experimental Godliness.

I had a great desire of being at your Conference, and to have taken a small circuit some farther northward in quest of a more health [sic] situation, as I am determined to leave this place—and I think of going soon for Norfolk whence I have had an invitation—You observe as an argument for my moving that neither *Reason* nor *Religion* allow *self-murder*!—Granted Sir—and if they did, I believe my zeal and *resolution* would not be equal to such an undertaking. On the contrary I am for living as long as I can, and wish I could live to better purpose—But also I find that in the midst of life I am in Death—Divine goodness has now been long digging about, [illegible] and I am afraid [sic] to very little purpose if a judgment is to be formed. By the apparent fruits of personal holiness—I am shocked when I think of the command given with regard to such a Barren tree—pray for me that thro' the power of divine grace I may be made to bring forth much fruit—and the happy instrument of turning many to righteousness.

I have it in contemplation to go a voyage to sea before I move (,) to which my Yokefellow has been much averse till lately, and now the great obstacle will be that of getting my own consent which I find will be very difficult—parting with my family is a most disagreeable thought—Should I go to England, I would certainly wait on the good Mr. Wesley, and to persuade him, if possible, to visit his children on this side of the Atlantic—You'll please present my compliments to Doct'r Megaw of Philadelphia, when you have the happiness of seeing him next—I have lately been very ill of a cold, but thank God am better just now. Mrs. Pettigrew presents her best wishes for your health and usefulness in (the) Cause of God—The Children are pretty well—And I am with very great respect and esteem,

Very dear sir—
Y'r fr'd- and Serv't

CHARLES PETTIGREW²²

^{21-a}BLOUNT, Nathaniel, was an Anglican clergyman, ordained, and licensed for North Carolina, in 1773. He was rector of St. Thomas' Church, Bath, and adjoining congregations in Beaufort and Pitt Counties. See sketch in HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, XX : 273. (Editor.)

²²The following entry is from Francis Asbury's *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 468:

Wed. 24, Jan. 1784. Set out in the rain to Hartford-town: I spoke in a tavern; the people seem wild and wicked altogether. I journeyed on through the damp weather and reached Pettigrew's about six o'clock.

Here I received a letter from Mr. Wesley, in which he directs me to act as general assistant and receive no preachers from Europe that are recommended by him, nor any in America who will not submit to me, and to the minutes of the Conference.

I preached at Edenton to a gay, inattentive people; I was well pleased with Mr. Pettigrew: I heard him preach and received the Lord's supper at his hands. . . .

III

Conclusion

In conclusion, it may not be out of place to ask whether these letters, written more than a hundred and fifty years ago, have any significance for our own time? Does their publication serve any purpose other than to furnish some additional facts about the unfortunate cleavage which took place between the Episcopalians and the followers of John Wesley a century and a half ago? The friendly relationship, which these letters show existed between two influential Episcopalian clergymen and several of the early American Methodist preachers in the formative years following independence, might well help to create a more friendly relationship between the two communions today. Devereux Jarratt and Charles Pettigrew have a significant place in American Methodist history, as well as in the early history of the Protestant Episcopal Church. It is, of course, futile to conjecture what might have happened had there been more Charles Pettigrews and Devereux Jarratts among the American Episcopalian clergy; perhaps there might not have been a separate Methodist Church.

The Wealth of the Clergy of Virginia in 1791

By G. MacLaren Brydon*



NE OF THE CURRENT TRADITIONS concerning the Episcopal Church in Virginia after the Revolution is that the clergy were few in number and were living in poverty. Repeating this tradition, the Rev. Dr. James Thayer Addison in his *The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1789-1931*, made the following statement on page 79:

"Bishop Madison, consecrated in England in 1790, found his diocese profoundly disheartening. The clergy were greatly reduced in numbers and miserably poor. So many of them in fact were turning away from their duties that a canon had to be passed to prevent their holding military commissions."

When one gets away from tradition and looks for the facts as shown by actual records, the above statement is proven to be entirely incorrect. Instead of finding his diocesan clergy "greatly reduced in numbers," when he met them for the first time as their bishop, the records show that there had been an increase in the number of incumbent ministers in the parishes of the diocese from fifty-six¹ in 1785 to sixty-three in 1791. In one of these parishes a young clergyman was serving as assistant to his father. This makes a total of sixty-four ministers in active work as parish ministers in that year.

As to the "miserable poverty" of these ministers, it must be remembered that each of them (except the assistant minister mentioned) was in possession of a glebe farm of two or three hundred acres. And in addition to the possession and use of his glebe, many of these clergy men had acquired land and slaves of their own.²

*Dr. Brydon is senior associate editor of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, historiographer of the diocese of Virginia, and author of *Virginia's Mother Church*. Volume I, 1607-1727; Volume II, 1727-1814. He is at present engaged in writing Volume III, 1814 to date.—Editor's note.

¹For a list of the clergymen in Virginia who took part in the organization of the diocese of Virginia in 1785, see HISTORICAL MAGAZINE Vol. XX (1951) pp. 264-72.

²The Church in Virginia followed the English custom that a clergyman must not perform manual labor. The incumbent minister of a parish must perforce secure labor to carry on the farming operations on his glebe, and for house servants, either by hiring slaves from other owners, or by acquiring slaves of his own.

A study of the tax returns of the several counties in Virginia for the year 1791 shows that members of this group owned and paid taxes on a total of 21,801 acres of land, and 550 slaves.³ One can hardly say that a group of clergymen owning as much property as there shown could have been considered to be "miserably poor." There were other causes which brought about the collapse of the Church in Virginia between 1800 and 1814, but the poverty of the clergy was not one of them.

At the convention of the diocese of Virginia held in 1796, the following canon was adopted:

A Canon to prohibit clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church from holding military commissions, and for other purposes.

No clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Virginia shall be permitted to hold a military commission; nor shall a clergyman leaving one parish be inducted into another, unless he shall produce to the vestry of such parish testimonials of his good conduct from the vestry of the parish where he last resided.⁴

There is nothing whatever in the journal of that convention which will reveal the reason for forbidding the clergy to hold military commissions. Certainly there is nothing to indicate that it was adopted in order to prevent ministers from "turning away from their duties." Apart from the anxiety caused by the growing bitterness of the campaign to seize the Church's property, the diocese was becoming better organized under the leadership of their bishop. Bishop Madison had personally ordained eighteen deacons by the end of 1796.⁵

If one must go into the field of conjecture to find a reason for the adoption of this canon it might be a safer and more probable guess to say that the diocese was enacting into its canon law a rule which had been a general custom in the Church of England, namely, that an ordained minister should not bear arms as a soldier.

There was in Virginia at that time a strong argument for the enactment of such a prohibition. Three men in public life in that de-

³These tax returns took no account of slave children under twelve years of age, as they were non-taxable. It must certainly have been the case that in a group of 550 slaves over twelve years of age there must have been also the usual number of slave children under twelve.

⁴See the diocesan convention journal as reprinted in Francis L. Hawks' Virginia volume, of *Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States of America*, Vol. I, Appendix, page 69.

⁵Bishop Madison ordained twenty-six deacons during his episcopate, from 1790 to 1812. The noteworthy fact is that twenty-two of these were ordained between 1791 and 1799, before the first of the two acts were adopted by the state legislature for sequestration of the Church's property. Only four were ordained by him between 1799 and 1812; one in 1800, one in 1804, and two in 1811.

cade, either in the General Assembly of Virginia or in Congress, had been ordained ministers of the Established Church of Virginia at the outbreak of the Revolution in 1776, and had given up the ministry in order to accept military commissions. They were Col. Isaac Avery of the state military establishment, Col. Charles Mynn Thruston, and Major-General Peter Muhlenburg, of the Continental Army. But perhaps the strongest argument for the adoption of this canon in 1796 was the growing tenseness of political conditions between the United States and France, and the actual possibility of these conditions resulting in war. The Church in Virginia seems to have been reaffirming the ancient custom of the Anglican Church for the special benefit perhaps of the younger clergymen who had been reared, educated and ordained in America.

The table here given shows the name of each clergyman and the amount of property owned by him. An appreciable number of those shown as not owning property were young men recently ordained who were unmarried, or who had not yet become well enough established to acquire property. Many of these did acquire property in later years. Some also who are shown as owning no slaves may possibly have been averse to owning them and preferred to rent their services, or to employ free Negroes.

Appendix

A List of Ministers of Parishes in Virginia in 1791

Showing the Amount of Land and Number of Slaves
Owned by Each One

[Copied from Tax Returns for 1791 in the Virginia State Library.]

Note. These returns do not show the actual number of slaves owned by any person, but the number for whom the owner was required to pay poll tax. All slaves, male or female, over sixteen years of age were taxable. The tax assessors were required to report in addition to the number of slaves over sixteen, a further item showing the number of slaves between twelve and sixteen years of age. The figures here given show both items. In making use of this list recognition must be given to the fact that many of the slave-owners here listed must have owned slave children under twelve years of age also.

INCUMBENTS ⁶	Acres Owned	NUMBER OF SLAVES OWNED		
		Over 16	12-16	Total
BALMAIN, Alexander. Frederick Parish, Frederick County.				
BLAGROVE, Benjamin. St. Peter's Parish, New Kent County.		3	1	4
BOGGS, Hugh Corran. Berkeley Parish, Spotsylvania County.				
BRACKEN, John. Bruton Parish, Williamsburg.				
BRUNSKILL, John. Raleigh Parish, Amelia County.	400	11	2	13
BRYAN, John. Wicomico Parish, Northumberland County.		2	1	3
BUCHAN, Robert. Overwharton Parish, Stafford County.	273	6		6
BUCHANAN, John. Henrico Parish, Henrico County.		9	2	11
BURGES, Henry John. Nottoway Parish, Southampton County.	689			
BUTLER, Samuel. Southwark Parish, Surry County.			1	1
CAMERON, John. Bristol Parish, Dinwiddie County.				
CAMERON, William. Manchester Parish, Chesterfield County.				
CARTER, Jesse. Drysedale Parish, Caroline County.				

⁶The clergymen whose names appear on this list as incumbents in 1791 have been taken from the article, "The Parishes in Virginia and the Rectors in Them, 1785-1814," by G. MacLaren Brydon in *William and Mary Quarterly Magazine* (Second Series), Vol. 19, pp. 424-34. That article gives also biographical sketches of the clergymen mentioned.

INCUMBENTS	Acres Owned	NUMBER OF SLAVES OWNED		
		Over 16	12-16	Total
CLOPTON, Reuben..... St. David's Parish, King William County.		4	2	6
CRAIG, James..... Hamilton Parish, Fauquier County.		6	1	7
CRAIG, James..... Cumberland Parish, Lunenburg County.	2,183	25	2	27
CRAWFORD, Charles..... Lexington Parish, Amherst County.				
CURRIE, David..... Christ Church Parish, Lancaster County.		22	4	26
DARNEILLE, Isaac..... Amherst Parish, Amherst County.	2	1	1	2
DAVIES, Price..... Blisland Parish, New Kent County.	750	23	1	24
DAVIS, Thomas..... St. Stephen's Parish, Northumberland County.	449	22	3	25
DICK, Archibald..... St. Margaret's Parish, Caroline County.	720	1		1
ELLIOTT, James..... Cople Parish, Westmoreland County.		14	4	18
EMMERSON, Arthur..... Portsmouth Parish, Norfolk County.	1 Lot	7	2	9
FAIRFAX, Bryan..... Fairfax Parish, Fairfax County.		12	1	13
FONTAINE, James Maury..... Ware Parish, Gloucester County.	400			32
GIBERNE, Isaac William..... Lunenburg Parish, Richmond County.	300			

INCUMBENTS	Acres Owned	NUMBER OF SLAVES OWNED		
		Over 16	12-16	Total
GRAYSON, Spence..... Dettingen Parish, Prince William County.	827	12	2	14
GURLEY, George..... St. Luke's Parish, Southampton County.	383	4	2	6
GURLEY, Joseph..... (Curate of above).		4		4
HARRISON, Thomas..... Bromfield Parish, Culpeper County.				
HAY, Alexander..... Antrim Parish, Halifax County.		2	1	3
HENDERSON, James..... Westover Parish, Charles City County.		1		1
HOPKINS, Charles..... St. James-Northam Parish, Goochland County.				
HUBARD, William..... Newport Parish, Isle of Wight County.		5		5
JARRATT, Devereux..... Bath Parish, Dinwiddie County.	717	13	4	17
JOHNSON, Stephen..... Meherrin Parish, Greensville County.		2	1	3
KLUG, Samuel..... Christ Church Parish, Middlesex County.	444	11	3	14
LUNDIE, Thomas..... St. Andrew's Parish, Brunswick County.	3,312	9	2	11
McBRIDE, James..... Kingston Parish, Mathews County.		2	1	3
McCROSKEY, Samuel Smith..... Hungars Parish, Northampton County.		24	3	27

INCUMBENTS	Acres Owned	NUMBER OF SLAVES OWNED		
		Over 16	12-16	Total
MADISON, James (Bishop). James City Parish, James City County.				10
MASSEY, Lee. Truro Parish, Fairfax County.	300			
MATTHEWS, John. St. Anne's Parish, Essex County.		14	2	16
MAURY, Matthew. Frederickville Parish, Albemarle County.	1,186	10	2	12
MORRIS, James. St. Bride's Parish, Norfolk County.	30			
NELSON, Peter. St. Martin's Parish, Hanover County.	350	3	1	4
PRICE, James. Abingdon Parish, Gloucester County.	400			32
ROBINSON, Needler. Dale Parish, Chesterfield County.		6		6
SAUNDERS, John Hyde. Southam Parish, Powhatan County.	283	6		6
SHIELD, Samuel. Charles Parish, York County.	960	28	5	33
SKYREN, Henry. Elizabeth City Parish, Elizabeth City County.	558	5	1	6
SPOONER, John Jones. Martin's Brandon Parish, Prince George County.				
STEPHENSON, James. St. Mark's Parish, Culpeper County.	700	4		4
STUART, William. St. Paul's Parish, King George County.	780	17	3	20

INCUMBENTS	Acres Owned	NUMBER OF SLAVES OWNED		
		Over 16	12-16	Total
SYME, Andrew South Farnham Parish, Essex County.				
TALLEY, Elkanah Littleton Parish, Cumberland County.		6	2	8
TAYLOR, James Suffolk Parish, Nansemond County.				
THOMPSON, James Leeds Parish, Fauquier County.		4		4
VERE, William Accomack Parish, Accomack County.		4	1	5
WALKE, Anthony Lynnhaven Parish, Princess Anne County.	3,880	42	5	47
WAUGH, Abner St. Mary's Parish, Caroline County.	525	1		1
WHITEHEAD, James Elizabeth River Parish, Norfolk County.				
WOODVILLE, John St. George's Parish, Spotsylvania County.				

SUMMARY.

Total Acreage Owned	21,801
Total Number of Slaves Owned	550

Saint John's Church, Elizabeth, New Jersey

I. Historical Sketch*

By Nelson R. Burr†



AMONG the rival sects in Elizabeth Town (as it was called in colonial times) before 1700 were a few devout Episcopalians, who welcomed the occasional ministrations of journeying priests. One of them was Edward Portlock, who preached in Woodbridge, Piscataway, and Elizabeth Town in 1698-1700. When he departed for Philadelphia and Virginia, services lapsed until the arrival of George Keith. On November 3, 1703, he first preached in the town at the home of Andrew Craig, baptized his four children and seven others, and the next day baptized eight children of Andrew Hampton. He returned on Sunday, December 19, and preached at the home of Colonel Richard Townley, who soon became a generous patron and benefactor of the Church.

Keith was greatly pleased by the good feeling towards the Church in the Puritan town, and wrote to the Society:

"Many of that Town having been formerly a sort of Independents, are become well affected to the Church of England, and desire to have a Minister."

Elizabeth Town was one of several places in New Jersey where, he thought, there should be churches.

**Records*: The parish possesses a copy of the charter, granted July 20, 1762. The record of baptisms and marriages dates from 1750. The Vestry Minutes begin in 1762, but the earlier ones record only the annual elections on Easter Monday, with the names of those elected to the Vestry. The principal sources for this and other colonial parishes in New Jersey are, however, the letters and reports of the missionaries in the S. P. G. and Fulham Palace Archives, copies of which, in the form of transcripts, photostats, or photofilms, are in the Library of Congress.

†Dr. Burr, on the staff of the Library of Congress, is the author of *Education in New Jersey, 1630-1871* (Princeton University Press, 1942) pp. 355; numerous articles in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*; nine parish histories; *Adventures in Parish History* (Philadelphia, Church Historical Society, 1947); and he has just completed the definitive work, *The Anglican Church in New Jersey*, now in the hands of the printer and expected to be off the press in the fall of 1953.—*Editor's note*.

Because of many other demands, the Society waited until 1704 to appoint the first missionary, the Rev. John Brooke, who reached the province on July 5, 1705. As Alexander Innes was caring for Monmouth County, Brooke regarded Governor Cornbury's advice and obtained the Society's permission to limit his ministry to Elizabeth Town, Perth Amboy, and the nearby towns. He did not want to spread himself too thin, and hoped to have a large parish in Elizabeth Town within a few years.

During the fall and winter of 1705-06, he held services in Colonel Townley's house, but that became too small, and in the spring he preached in a barn, which in winter would be too chilly for tolerance, and after the harvest was full of crops. For a time Brooke was permitted to officiate twice every Sunday in the "Independent" meeting-house, provided he should *not* use the Prayer Book. But he said much of the service by heart, most of the "dissenters" generally stayed to hear him, and many began to lose their prejudice against the Church.

Colonel Townley came to the rescue again by giving a church lot and a cemetery and contributing heavily towards a building. By November, 1705, the people were planning to start construction next spring, and on Saint John the Baptist's Day, June 24, 1706, Brooke laid the cornerstone of a brick church, fifty feet long, thirty wide, and twenty-one high, and well lighted by nine windows. In October it was being covered, and he hoped to preach his first sermon there in about six weeks or two months.

For a time everything seemed promising, and his incessant and untiring work steadily increased the Church in Elizabeth Town and other places in East Jersey. He visited Rahway, Perth Amboy, Cheesequake, Piscataway, Rocky Hill, and a congregation at Page's, near Freehold. The people were pleased and probably somewhat amazed by his "exceeding Diligence," but he had a difference of opinion with the authoritative Colonel Townley. He also had to face the growing hostility and oppression of Governor Cornbury, who resented Brooke's criticism of his conduct and threatened to imprison him in the fort at New York. To appeal for justice, in November 1707, he sailed from Marblehead for England with his fellow sufferer, the Rev. Thoroughgood Moor. Their ship vanished into the unknown, probably overwhelmed by some furious storm far out in the Atlantic. One hundred and fifty years later an historian of the parish wrote:

"The influence of his piety and devotion is still alive and is felt here, and the character he gave to this Church, it has never lost."

Among those whom he influenced were many "dissenters" with whom he conversed in their homes.

After a vacancy of about two years, with occasional visits by John Talbot, the people were glad to see their new Welsh parson, the Rev. Edward Vaughan. They and their children and grandchildren got to know him well, for he stayed until his death in 1747. At first he had a hard time, as Colonel Townley was still sore from his quarrel with Brooke, and would not accommodate him in his house. His salary was small, Elizabeth Town was an expensive seaport, and he was not used to the American distances and ferocious extremes of heat and cold, and the expense of ferries. But in 1714 he had the good luck to win the hand of Mrs. Mary Emott of New York, the step-daughter of Colonel Townley. Her estate of £2000 relieved his financial and domestic worries. For a few years he moved to Perth Amboy, but continued to serve Saint John's, and in 1721 returned to Elizabeth Town.

By that time his congregation there had grown to two hundred, with forty communicants. His ministry was rather uneventful, mostly in a long period of peace between two imperial wars between Great Britain and France. His reports suggest a quiet and retiring disposition, and a parish life that generally kept on an even tenor, until Whitefield, the evangelistic bombshell, descended upon the town in 1739-40. No match for such a sharp critic of quiet ways, Vaughan worked out his indignation in long letters to the Society.

In the 1730's the congregation continued to increase, and included many poor folk who could not afford books, which Vaughan ordered for them from the Society. They were very grateful, but he never could get enough to keep up with the demand. Occasionally the parish received a generous bequest, as when in 1739 a "very worthy widow" left "nine Acres of good Land, with a fine Orchard thereon, for a Glebe for the Minister there for ever."

As the quiet years passed, age crept upon the missionary and the parish began to decline. Not that he had been exactly idle: in October, 1731, he reported 556 infant and 64 adult baptisms in the last two years, and in 1739 had 84 communicants. But there are hints that the vestry was not pleased, and his successor, Thomas Bradbury Chandler, even accused him of indolence, carelessness, and unpopular manners. While at the start of his ministry the Church outnumbered the "dissenters," the opposite was true when he died, the parish having actually declined, while the Quaker meeting was nearly as large, and the town had five other churches with ministers.

The Society did not improve the situation by deciding, in 1749, to attach Elizabeth Town to the new mission of New Brunswick under

the Rev. Thomas Wood. Chandler, an ex-Congregationalist fresh from Yale, had been serving as layreader since about December 1, 1747, and in May, 1748, was appointed as catechist. The people justly resented their subordinate position, and soon perceived the vigorous and aggressive character of their young reader. Yielding to their pleas and the advice of the neighboring clergy, the Society recognized his three years of hard and excellent work, and allowed him to sail to England for ordination.

On £30 a year—only half of Vaughan's salary—he began to revive the sluggish church, not only in Elizabeth Town, but also in Rahway, Woodbridge, and Westfield. Refusing tempting offers elsewhere, he won the loyalty and affection of his people, while his ability as a pastor, preacher, evangelist, teacher, and defender of the Church commanded their respect—and that of his opponents. He served Saint John's for thirty-nine years, from his return in priest's orders early in November, 1751, until his death on June 17, 1790, except for the war interlude of 1775-1785.

His ministry was as stirring as Vaughan's had been generally uneventful. Even before he was ordained, the parish decided that it must have a rectory, and on December 11, 1749, bought about four acres of ground on Pearl Street, with a house built in 1696-97 by Andrew Hampton. It was enlarged in 1765, and after serving as the rectory for more than a century, became Saint John's Home. Another notable event was the incorporation of the parish by royal charter, July 20, 1762, as "The Rector, Church Wardens and Vestry of St. John's Church in Elizabeth-Town." Chandler headed the list of incorporators, including the wardens, John Halstead and Jacob De Hart, and the vestrymen: Henry Garthwait, Jonathan Hampton, Amos Morss, Ephraim Terrill, Matthias Williamson, John De Hart, John Ogden, Cavalier Jouet, and John Chetwood.

In 1763, extensive repairs made the church "the most decent in the Province." Eleven years later, the parish began the foundation for a new building, to be eight-five by fifty feet. The Revolution interrupted the work, and only traces of the construction remained around the old church to inspire either regret or a resolve to realize the dream. Another disappointment was the capture by the French on the high seas of a set of chimes, a valuable library, and altar plate, which King George II ordered for the parish about 1757. In spite of misfortunes, the parish continued to increase, and at the close of 1754 contained eighty-five families and ninety communicants. Fifteen years later, there were one hundred families and eighty communicants, and in 1771 Chandler reported a steady increase from the conformity of "dissenters" to the Church.

His aggressive character swept Saint John's into the full current of colonial life, which was inevitably setting towards the Revolution. He displeased the increasingly vocal religious and political radicals by his denial of the pulpit to Whitefield in November, 1763, thus alienating some of his own flock and reducing the communicants to about seventy-five. In 1767, his *Appeal* for an American bishop made him and his parish the storm center of a long controversy. His criticism of riotous opposition to the British government, and his vain warnings to the mother country not to "drive matters to a dangerous Extremity," revealed his statesmanlike moderation, wisdom, and candor, but also excited the suspicion of fanatics on both sides. His reception of a degree of D.D. from Oxford University, interpreted as a mark of British approval, did not help him in America.

As the year 1775 deepened in confusion and bitterness, popular clamor became so loud that on May 24 Chandler left for England. There he lived for ten years, trying to soften the harshness of conflict and to help exiles less fortunate than he. He was spared the torture of seeing his congregation scattered to the four winds, the interior of his beautiful church desecrated, the pews and floor torn up and burned, the earth covered with filthy straw and the manure of horses stabled there. The organ pipes were used to make bullets, and the bell was saved from the melting pot only because nobody could reach it. There were even two efforts to burn the church by kindling a fire under the pulpit.

One consolation was the loyalty of his people. In 1783, even before peace was proclaimed, the wardens and vestrymen requested him to return, as his family had stayed in the rectory. In June, 1785, he came, too ill to serve, but he kept the title of rector by request of the people as long as he lived.

In the meantime, about 1779 or 1780, the congregation began to meet in a private house for Sunday service. Easter elections were resumed in 1778, and next year took place in the church. In 1786-87, the building and the steeple were repaired, and the seats were rented for revenue. The Rev. Abraham Beach of New Brunswick came occasionally, and Uzal Ogden of Sussex County officiated as acting pastor while serving also as rector of Trinity Church, Newark. There was no resident minister until the Rev. Samuel Spraggs was called from Mount Holly, April 13, 1789. On January 1, 1791, he succeeded Chandler as rector, and served until his death, September 7, 1794. For years Saint John's had sent delegates to the conventions that organized the Diocese of New Jersey, and it has always been one of the outstanding parishes of the diocese.

After the death of Spraggs, Saint John's had indifferent success with a rapid turnover of rectors until the Rev. John Churchill Rudd became rector in December, 1805. Under his leadership for the next twenty years, the parish made steady progress. In 1808, the church building of 1706 was increased in length by seventeen feet and the interior was entirely renovated.

But by the middle of the nineteenth century the old church was considered inadequate, and the cornerstone of the present building was laid on the afternoon of September 5, 1859. The stone was placed by the rector in the north side of the tower, about five feet above the foundation wall. The church was opened for services on June 24, 1860, and was consecrated, free of debt, March 26, 1865. The tower had been completed in December, 1864. The architect was John Welch.*

In 1950, an extensive plan of redecoration was carried out, and the church was rededicated on October 29th of that year. The heraldic shields introduced as a part of this redecoration are of considerable historical interest and importance, and are reproduced in illustrations in Part II below.

LIST OF RECTORS

Following is the list of rectors of St. John's Church:

1. Rev. JOHN BROOKE, appointed missionary to Elizabethtown, 1705 to 1707. November, 1707, lost at sea on voyage to England.
2. Rev. EDWARD VAUGHAN, appointed missionary to St. John's Church, 1709 to 1747. Lived in Elizabethtown until 1714; returned to this town 1721; lived from 1714 to 1721 at Perth Amboy. He died October 12, 1747.
3. Rev. THOMAS BRADBURY CHANDLER, D.D., May, 1748, died June 17, 1790.
4. Rev. SAMUEL SPRAGGS, appointed rector 1791, died September 7, 1794.
5. Rev. MENZIES RAYNER, January 1, 1795, to 1801.
6. Rev. FREDRICK BEASLEY, D.D., 1802 to June 5, 1803. Died November 1, 1845.
7. Rev. SAMUEL LILLY, August 18, 1803, to April 30, 1805. Died, 1824.
8. Rev. JOHN CHURCHILL RUDD, D.D., December, 1805, to June 1, 1826. Died November 15, 1848, buried in St. John's Church Yard.
9. Rev. SMITH PYNE, 1826 to December 31, 1828.

*See illustration below, Part II.

10. Rev. BIRDSEY GLOVER NOBLE, March 8, 1829, to October 15, 1833.
11. Rev. RICHARD CHANNING MOORE, Jr., D. D., February 16, 1834, to November, 1855.
12. Rev. SAMUEL ADAMS CLARK, D.D., April 17, 1856, to January 28, 1875.
13. Rev. WILLIAM S. LANGFORD, D.D., July, 1875, to September 1, 1885.
14. Rev. OTIS A. GLAZEBROOK, D.D., November, 1885, to 1913.
15. Rev. LYTTLETON E. HUBARD, D.D., November, 1913, to November, 1949.
16. Rev. HAROLD C. WHITMARSH, January, 1950, to date.

[For Part II. THE HISTORY OF SAINT JOHN'S CHURCH
DONE IN HERALDRY, *see below*, pages 135-142]

Book Reviews

I. American Church History and Biography

Religion in the Development of American Culture, 1765-1840. By William Warren Sweet. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952, pp. x, 338.

This is the second volume in Professor Sweet's projected history of religion in America—a rather epic task, which Professor Sweet is probably as well equipped to carry out as any man alive. He is a competent historian who has specialized in the American field. This volume takes as its springboard the classic thesis stated by Frederick Jackson Turner some thirty years ago, that "the moving frontier and its repercussions upon the nation as a whole should be the central theme in American history." But since Turner and practically all of his disciples have been economic determinists, they have uniformly by-passed religion as one of the "history-making factors." This defect in the treatment of American history, Professor Sweet has set out to remedy.

He deals first with religion in the revolutionary generation, noting the attitude of the various churches toward the American Revolution. He rightly concludes that the Congregational and the Presbyterian clergy were, almost to the man, pro-Revolutionary from the start, and one of the leading forces in a drive toward complete independence. His treatment of the notably divided mind of the Episcopal Church toward the Revolution suffers from several defects. He assumes that the Church of England was bound by its basic principles to be loyal to the *status quo*. And he overlooks the fact that the Episcopal clergy in the North were loyal to the crown, first, because they looked to the English Government as their protector against Puritan intolerance, and second, because their religious opponents were so uniformly on the other side of the fence.

The chapters dealing with religion during the period of the making of the Constitution abound in quotable bits:

"Congregationalism failed to take a national view of its task in the critical, formative years, and thereby condemned itself to remain a sectional religious body."

"The Baptist Churches were the most democratic of the religious bodies in the new nation. . . . and they came nearer to being indigenous to American soil than any other." He attributes to Baptist influence, more than to any other Church, the guarantees of religious freedom written into the Constitution.

"Wesley did not intend that the American Methodists were to constitute a Church wholly separate from the Church

of England. . . . What John Wesley intended, however, was one thing, but what was possible depended upon what the American Methodists wanted, and it was soon found that they wanted complete independence."

Of John Carroll he says, "One of the facts he clearly discerned was that American independence had wrought not only a political revolution, but a religious revolution as well."

When he comes to treat the formation of the Episcopal Church in America as an independent unit, Professor Sweet does full justice to the work of Bishop White, but fails to give due credit to the part played by Bishop Seabury. In fact, one gets the impression that the author does not like Bishop Seabury, but then, neither did Bishop Provost.

The third, the largest, and to this reviewer the most informative section of the book is that dealing with religion on the frontier. Professor Sweet is well aware that "the United States of America began as a free and independent nation with organized religion at low ebb." He notes the causes of this—preoccupation with the long, dragging war, the revolt from Calvinism, and the rise of deism and anti-clericalism. He then proceeds to show how the new West, threatened with a lapse into utter barbarism, was reclaimed for Christianity. In this process he maintains, probably with justice, that the denominations dominant in the seaboard colonies lost out. The Congregationalists were walled in by the Plan of Union, which gave the West over to the Presbyterians. The latter in turn were more than any other church torn asunder by doctrinal controversies which led to schisms. The Episcopalians did not get under way until 1835, and "by that time, the religious pattern of the great West had been fixed, and it was therefore too late for the Episcopalians to make any large impact upon it." But the Baptist "farmer-preacher" and the Methodist circuit-rider were perfectly fitted, by their cheapness and their nearness in intellectual stature to the people to whom they ministered, to deal with the new and different situation in the West. The book has an interesting treatment of revivalism, and Professor Sweet concludes that "the churches which dealt most effectively with frontier needs were those which utilized revivalistic methods."

I note in passing our author's handling of the foundation of church colleges and seminaries, and his brief discussion of the rise of religious literature—in which there is no mention of any Episcopal publication. He handles briefly but ably the revolt against Calvinism and the origin of the Unitarian and Universalist bodies—the latter a small-town version of the former. There is a section on Indian missions, with the usual mention of John Eliot and the usual lack of mention of John Stuart. (Someday someone will discover that the Episcopal Church really did something for the Indian.) The last chapter, entitled "The Rise of Frontier Utopias," treats such wierd manifestations of Christianity as Mormonism, Millennialism, and the Shakers.

It is an interesting and valuable survey that Professor Sweet has given us, and in spite of my criticisms I feel that his treatment is in general remarkably impartial. And because of that very impartiality, one feels that he has not quite done what he promised to do—to relate

all these various manifestations of religion to the formation of an American culture.

To a Catholic-minded reviewer, the story as told, while fascinating, is somewhat tragic. It is the tale of the disintegration of classical Protestantism—a disintegration that still goes on. The book should include one more chapter—an interpretative summing up by Bernard Iddings Bell.

GEORGE E. DeMILLE.

*Christ Church Rectory,
Duanesburgh, New York.*

The Diary of George Templeton Strong, 1835-1875. Edited by Allan Nevins and Milton Halsey Thomas. 4 vols. (with different subtitles), New York, The Macmillan Company, 1952. xc + 2153 pp. \$35.00.

This new, rich and hitherto unknown source for New York history will soon become a classic like Philip Hone's famous *Diary* (1828-1851), with which it dovetails in its first part and which it continues in the following ones. The HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is not the place for a general evaluation of the whole work, and this note is written only to direct the attention of Church historians to this promising mine of information. George Templeton Strong (1820-1875), born into a Presbyterian family, became an Episcopalian when a student at Columbia College, and dedicated a good deal of his lifework, aside from his profession as a lawyer, to the Church. He was a vestryman of Trinity Church from 1848 to 1870, a warden since 1870; in his last years he held the important position of comptroller of the parish. All through these years he commented *inter alia*, on the life of the Episcopal Church in New York in many hundreds of entries in his diary. There is hardly any important name from this period missing in these pages. From B. T. Onderdonk to Morgan Dix, from Manton Eastburn to Stephen Tyng, a long procession of High and Low passes by, usually with the light on the side of High and the shadow on that of Low. Strong was an unfaltering High Churchman and did not mince his words when criticising the other party; but even high churchmanship did not protect everybody against his biting remarks. It goes without saying that his notes have to be taken with care; there is, inevitably in such a source, some admixture of rumor and gossip; and personal aversion visibly influenced considerably the writer's judgment. Where he deals with his pet hates, as e. g. Francis Lister Hawks, he is capable of crediting unfavorable reports at face value. Nevertheless, the book is indispensable for any further research in New York Church history, as a running commentary for the period. All the greater events in the life of the Church, the elections, conventions General and diocesan, sensations like the Onderdonk trial or the Doane crisis, the reunion of the Northern and Southern Church after the Civil War, etc., are reflected in Strong's notes.

Unfortunately, the printed edition, good though it is, will not give the ecclesiastical historian everything he needs. The editors were forced, for evident reasons, to reduce the enormous bulk of the original manuscript through extensive omissions; and their preface acknowledges that "prosy theological disquisitions, sermons and vestry sessions" have often been singled out for this treatment—things unattractive to the general reader, but perhaps valuable for our studies. It is to be hoped that the Strong family who own the manuscript and authorized the edition, will not refuse to the specialists access to the original.

RICHARD G. SALOMON.

Bexley Hall,
Kenyon College,
Gambier, Ohio.

The Oxford American Prayer Book Commentary. By Massey Hamilton Shepherd, Jr. New York, Oxford University Press, 1950.

This is indeed a valuable aid to the study of the Prayer Book of the American Church, and it is the only commentary on the 1928 American Book. The text of the Prayer Book is set out in good type on the left hand page, with a clear and helpful commentary on the right. The book will be a boon to all American clergymen and teachers as well as to many intelligent laymen. It should find its place also on the desk of our own English clergy as well.

The historical and liturgical explanations are accurate and to the point. The spiritual teaching conveyed is helpful and satisfying.

In the Select Bibliography two important studies should be included: *The Prayer Book of 1928 Reconsidered*, by Dr. W. K. Lowther Clarke; and *The Occasional Prayers in the 1928 Book Reconsidered*, by Dr. E. Milner-White.

We are grateful for this admirably produced and useful volume.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

St. Margaret's Vicarage,
Oxford, England.

The Episcopal Church: A Miniature History. By Walter Herbert Stowe. Philadelphia, Church Historical Society, 2nd ed., 1952, pp. 64. 25 cents.

Dr. Stowe's *Miniature History* is a marvel of lucidity and compression. The first edition appeared in 1944, and now after eight years' useful service it has been rewritten and enlarged. This little book, attractively produced, should be in the hands of every priest and layman, forming for very many a basis for fuller study. It is much to be hoped

that this valuable brochure will have a wide circulation in this country, where the history of the American Episcopal Church is too little known and appreciated. History is our strong point as Anglicans, and we need to make much more use of it than we do.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

*St. Margaret's Vicarage,
Oxford, England.*

PARISH HISTORIES.

1.

The First Century of Grace Church Parish (Plainfield, New Jersey).
By Harry James Knickle. Plainfield, published by the rector,
1952. Pp. 205.

The present rector of Grace Church, Plainfield, New Jersey, has produced a first-rate parish history, based largely on parish records which "are fairly well kept and complete." He relates its beginnings, from January 11, 1852, to the local and national situation at the time, including the religious atmosphere. To illustrate the latter, he quotes from the historical address of the Rev. Erskine Rodman, the seventh rector, on Easter Day, 1878:

"The decade before the founding of Grace Church was a time of bitter prejudice against the Church, her doctrines and practices. It was predicted that the Church could not live here. It was Christmastide when the services were held in Scotch Plains in the schoolhouse; and no doubt it was that earnest churchwoman who requested the young deacon to wear his surplice, who had, as tastefully as she could, with cedar and holly, decorated the room and put up an evergreen cross. Some Christians of another name, and who shall be nameless, were to have a prayer meeting in the same room at a later hour. And when they came and saw the evergreens they insisted that 'those theatrical arrangements,' as they called them, should be removed, and they proceeded to tear them down and to throw them and the little cross out of the window before they engaged in prayer. I am afraid—must I not say that I know?—that their prayer meeting was not a very animated or beneficial one, preceded as it was by this exhibition of narrow-minded bigotry. And yet, these persons may have thought that they were doing God service, and that they were solemnly called upon, as the old Puritans used to say, to 'bear Testimony' by this iconoclastic act, against what they considered a dangerous and ensnaring innovation. But what a change have we lived to see wrought, mainly, if not entirely, through the labors of this Church, when Christians of almost every name, by some means or other, on some day or other near Christmas day, delight to

beautify their Churches with evergreens and Christian symbols, and when many of them have given special significance today, by flowers and music and appropriate sermons, to the holy and blessed lessons of Easter."

That quotation speaks volumes about the opposition to, and the permeating influence of, this Church all over this land.

The parish had a hard time at the start, plagued by dissension and financial difficulties, and did not come into its own until Rodman's rectorship, which lasted for thirty-two years, 1870-1902. Under his leadership, Grace Church became a leading parish in the diocese of New Jersey, which it still is.

The present rector is the ninth, but the last three rectorships, including the present one, cover a span of eighty-two years of its first century—testimony to the parish's stability and to the quality of leadership of the last three rectors.

All phases of parish life are described in the first ten chapters. Two chapters are devoted to biographies of the rectors and the curates, which are especially valuable to present and future historians. There are nine appendices and eighteen illustrations. The book is beautifully printed.

WALTER H. STOWE.

2.

History of the Church of St. John in the Wilderness, Copake Falls, New York. By George Edmed DeMille. Copake Falls. The Parish, 1952. 25 pp.

Mr. DeMille has given us another interesting, if brief, history of a parish in the diocese of Albany. Copake Falls, a comparatively young town by New York State standards, was founded in 1845 as the result of the opening of an iron foundry. The Church was organized seven years later. After the closing of the iron works, the parish passed through a long period of dormancy. Within the past decade, Copake Falls has begun to develop into a prosperous residential community. St. John's has been revived, and begins its second century in a promising condition.

WILLIAM WILSON MANROSS.

*The Library,
The Church Historical Society,
Philadelphia.*

An Album of Methodist History. By Elmer T. Clark. New York, Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1952. Pp. 336. \$7.50.

Well selected and authentic pictures are one of the most effective means of bringing history to life. Their weakness lies in the fact that they do not always present it in its true proportions, since the most important developments may not have the best illustrations. The present

work shows this weakness. After four pages of drawings by Hogarth, which are supposed to portray "Social Conditions in Eighteenth-Century England," one hundred pages are given to the Wesleys, two pages to "Wesley's Successors," fifty-one pages, in two sections, to World Methodism, and one hundred sixty-six pages, also in two sections, to American Methodism.

Apart from this probably unavoidable disproportion, and from the obvious unsoundness of using a comic artist as the sole interpreter of eighteenth century English life, this is an excellent collection. Though the sources of the illustrations are not given, they all appear to be from prints, paintings, or photographs contemporaneous with the scenes depicted. The pictorial quality of the selection is high and the reproduction is very good. Interesting as a picture book, and valuable as a source of illustrations for writers and editors, the work also provides an instructive introduction to the history of a great denomination.

WILLIAM WILSON MANROSS.

*The Library,
Church Historical Society,
Philadelphia.*

Presbyterian Panorama. By Clifford Merrill Drury. Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Philadelphia, 1952. Pp. xvi, 458. Price, \$3.75.

From Frontier to Frontier: An Interpretation of 150 Years of Presbyterian National Missions. By Hermann N. Morse. Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Philadelphia, 1952. Pp. 108. Price, paper, \$1.25.

Climbing Jacob's Ladder: Story of the Work of the Presbyterian Church U. S. A., among the Negroes. By Jesse Belmont Barber. Board of National Missions, Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. New York, 1952. Pp. 103. Price, paper, \$0.50.

The Presbyterian Church (U. S. A.), commonly known as the "Northern" Presbyterian Church, is observing the 150th anniversary of the founding of its Board of National Missions by the publication of a major history of the board and of four short books on various phases of missionary work. Edward A. O'Dell's *It Came to Pass*, dealing with the board's work in the West Indies, and Florence Hayes' *Daughters of Dorcas*, presenting women's contribution to the board's achievements, have been reviewed by Mr. Murphy (HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, December, 1952, pp. 485-6).

The basic work is that of Dr. Drury, professor of Church history at the San Francisco Theological Seminary. It is a detailed chronological treatment of the expansion of Presbyterianism in the United States from 1562 to the present. The story falls into five divisions: that of

of the "organization" of the official missionary boards; that of the "division" of missionary endeavor when Presbyterianism was rent first into Eastern and Western, then into Northern and Southern branches; that of the "expansion" of the Northern branch of the Church until 1923; and that of the "advance" in the present generation.

The work is scholarly, carefully documented, vividly presented. The 70 pages of appendices summarize the beginnings and accomplishments of the local synods of the Church, set forth valuable statistics showing the growth in organization and in accomplishment of the board, and list its present members and staff. The bibliography is valuable as listing summaries of Presbyterian history in many states and localities.

Dr. Morse, for almost 40 years intimately connected with the Board of National Missions, is ably qualified to write this interpretive volume for more popular consumption. It is valuable not only for the summary statistical tables, but even more for its deep consciousness of the interplay between the dominant motifs of American life and the attitudes and actions of his Church.

Dr. Barber's book deals with the history of the board's emphasis upon Negro work, and shows the main outlines of the program at present for the 40,000 Negro Presbyterians.

An Anglican reads these books as a comparison and contrast with the record of his Church's home missionary endeavor. This reviewer sees in the contrast between the policy of the Protestant Episcopal Church and that of the Presbyterian Church the basic reasons for the greater adaptability of the Presbyterians in programs of outreach. The more "national" Presbyterian organization strikes more swiftly at missionary opportunities than the more "federal" Episcopalian organization.

The division of missionary responsibility between foreign and home departments presents an interesting contrast. The Presbyterians find that independent foreign republics (Cuba and the Dominican Republic) fall under their home board. The Episcopalians find that American dependencies (Alaska and Hawaii and Puerto Rico) are under their overseas department.

Anglican readers may find themselves envious of the vitality which produces such vivid and comprehensive treatments of missionary themes as these, in a moment which is not especially noted for general missionary enthusiasm.

WILLIAM A. CLEBSCH.

*The Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary in Virginia,
Alexandria.*

Bridge to Africa. By L. K. Anderson and W. Sherman Skinner. Published by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, New York, 1952.

This is a true story of the Christian spirit at work. On one side of the Atlantic we have the prayers and spiritual insight of a family under

the shadow of death, and their pastor. On the other side, in Africa, we have a devoted group of native converts whose strong bodies and willing hearts provide the labor needed for a new church building. These are the two piers of a great bridge thrown across the ocean. The Church as a living structure unites the two, and through its channels the spirit finds a body in which it can work. "Fictitious names have been used for the American persons and places, but not for the African." The story is told with sincere feeling and effective skill. It provides a concrete answer to the questions, What do missionaries do? and, Are Foreign Missions worth while? Also, it is a fine example of the raw material out of which history is made.

DuBOSE MURPHY.

A Baptist Bibliography: Being a Register of Printed Material by and about Baptists; Including Works Written Against the Baptists. Edited by Edward C. Starr. Chester, Pennsylvania, American Baptist Historical Society, 1952. Vol. II: B-Biloxi, pp. 285, plus index, 38pp.

Volume I of what promises to be a monumental work, covering entries with the letter "A" only, was published in 1947 (Philadelphia, Judson Press, for the Samuel Colgate Baptist Historical Collection of Colgate University, pp. 240).

The present volume is mimeographed, and carries the entries through "Biloxi" only. The author is now curator of the American Baptist Historical Society and librarian of the Crozer Theological Seminary. In Volume I the editor stated:

"In scope we have tried to include all Baptists everywhere, from 1609 to date. . . It is planned to publish one alphabetic section at a time, where the letter group is extensive enough" (p. 10).

When in 1941 the editor checked his catalog against the Union Catalog of the Library of Congress, which has ten million or more cards, he had some 60,000 items.

This is a very worthy enterprise, and we hope the editor lives to complete it! It will certainly consume most of the working years of his life. It is a task which other churches would do well to emulate, including the Episcopal Church.

WALTER H. STOWE.

AMONG OUR CONTEMPORARIES.

Edited by DuBOSE MURPHY, *Associate Editor*.

South Carolina Historical Magazine published an account by GEORGE W. WILLIAMS of "Eighteenth Century Organists of St. Michael's, Charleston," in two installments: July, 1952, pp. 146-154, and October, 1952, pp. 212-222. St. Michael's Parish, Charleston, was in many ways one of the outstanding Anglican churches on this side of the Atlantic. It had first-class organs, one of the instruments being considered the finest in the new world. A series of distinguished musicians served as organists, some of them being composers of more than average ability. The present study includes reproductions of the scores of a number of these hymns. It is a valuable contribution to the history of American Church music.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, December, 1952, has an article by IRA V. BROWN on "Watchers for the Second Coming: The Millenarian Tradition in America," pp. 441-458. From the first century of our era, there has been among Christians a fervent hope and earnest expectation of the Second Coming of Christ. This hope has been more active in some periods than in others, but has never died out. In America, both during colonial times and since Independence, much attention was given to this type of prophecy by recognized leaders of the churches. "Millenarianism was a dynamic force behind the inauguration of the foreign missions movement early in the nineteenth century," and also "was an important ingredient in nineteenth century revivalism." As millenarianism subsided among the more orthodox communions, new sects sprang up with increased emphasis on the Second Coming. Mormonism, for example, included a strong millennial hope, and the followers of William Miller became active and numerous. However, most of the extravagances attributed to the Millerites never happened. (*See below*). "The last great sectarian manifestation of the millennial tradition was the society known as 'Jehovah's Witnesses' originated in 1872 by Charles Taze Russell."

In connection with the fore-going, it is interesting to note the simultaneous publication of "The Growth of the Millerite Legend" by FRANCIS D. NICHOL in *Church History*, December, 1952, pp. 296-313. William Miller, "a farmer, justice of the peace, ex-captain of the War of 1812, and a good Baptist" lived in Low Hampton, New York, near the Vermont border. In 1831, he began to make public announcement of the discovery, from study of the Scriptures, that the Second Coming of Christ would take place in 1843 or 1844. A considerable amount of interest was aroused, and this was followed by an ever-widening circle of rumors and fantastic stories. One piece of fiction told of the "ascension robes" which the Millerites had prepared for the great occasion. The present article is a thorough study of the whole legend,

showing how the early reports of "we have been told" were developed and expanded into solemn statements of fact.

The Wisconsin Magazine of History, Summer, 1952, (vol. xxv, no. 4) pp. 250-268, published a most interesting article by the Rev. SYDNEY H. CROFT on "A Hundred Years of Racine College and DeKoven Foundation." Opened in the fall of 1852, Racine College grew into an institution of sound learning and wholesome Christian influence. Especially during the administration of the Rev. James DeKoven from 1859-1879, Racine contributed much to the life of the Church. "At its height, this was the finest Church school west of the Allegheny Mountains." Like most of the Church schools of that era, Racine had its ups and downs but continued to maintain high standards. However, general economic conditions could not be escaped, and Racine closed its doors in 1933.

The second phase of Racine's history began in 1935 when the property was purchased by the Sisters of St. Mary. It was used first as a summer camp for children of Chicago, but soon its program was enlarged and it became a center for conferences and retreats. As the DeKoven Foundation it has made a great contribution to the whole Church.

Church History, September, 1952, pp. 239-258, offers a study of "Neglected Aspects of Roger Williams' Thought" by MAURO CALAMANDREI. "To summarize it briefly, this interpretation holds that far from being a humanist Roger Williams believed in the radical depravity of man and the necessity of Grace; that far from being a rationalist Williams was a Biblicist; that far from being an optimist in history, Williams was a Millenarian; and instead of being a democratic Baptist Williams believed in the prophetic ministry free from any congregational limitations." With this introduction, the author presents a careful and well documented study of one of the pioneer leaders of pre-Revolutionary Christianity in the American Colonies. Williams was in his own day an individualist among individualists, but his influence was extensive and his principles are still cited—sometimes favorably and sometimes otherwise. He certainly should be studied and understood by all who would know American thought of the pre-Revolutionary period, and this essay is a valuable contribution towards such understanding.

In the same number of *Church History*, we find an article by MARTIN SCHMITT on "Research in Northwest Church History," pp. 259-266. This is a brief study of the problems and needs of students of the history of the Church in the Pacific Northwest. Work in this field has so far been "limited to histories of congregations, denominations, and to biographical forms." Source materials are widely scattered and many useful records are either incomplete or buried in inaccessible archives. But the field is rich and the prospects for useful re-

search are encouraging. Efforts should be made to collect these materials in the libraries of the larger universities of that region and also to microfilm unpublished records.

The faculty of St. Vladimir's Seminary in New York have started to meet a long-felt need by launching *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly*, a religious and theological journal for the Orthodox Church in this country (subscriptions at \$2 should be sent to 537 West 121st St., New York 27). Of historical interest in the first number is a history of St. Vladimir's and earlier Russian Orthodox Seminaries in America, a sketch of the late Metropolitan Theophilus, and an article on "Problems of the Eastern Orthodox Church in America" by the present Metropolitan Leonty, revised from an article published in 1915, but still contemporary in its discussion of questions of language and jurisdictions, and relations with the Episcopal Church.

E. R. HARDY.

II. English and General Church History

The Christian Dilemma—Catholic Church: Reformation. By W. H. van de Pol, D. D., Translated by G. van Hall, Ph. D. (New York, Philosophical Society, 1952), pp. xviii, 299. \$4.75.

This is an admirable book in many ways. The author is a convert from the Dutch Reformed to the Roman Catholic Church. He is deeply interested in and concerned for the Ecumenical Movement and its aim, the reunion of Christendom. His knowledge of that movement and its history is both detailed and profound, and his approach is sympathetic. He has all the enthusiasm of a new convert to Roman Catholicism, and makes it quite clear why the Roman Communion, claiming to be the answer to the Ecumenical Movement, cannot compromise itself by official participation in world conference with other communions and in the World Council of Churches. And yet all that he writes is written with the utmost charity and with the obvious desire to understand and to be fair to those from whom he differs. While it cannot be said that he is entirely successful, we feel that he has written with a laudable degree of fairness and objectivity.

The dilemma which gives its title to the book is the dilemma posed by the existence of the Roman Catholic Church, claiming to possess the plenitude of Christ's authority and the fulness of revealed truth, and of the Churches of the Reformation, with their assurance that by going back to the Holy Scriptures they have rediscovered the true basis

of Christian faith. Basically, Dr. van de Pol maintains, the problem is one of semantics. "We encounter a serious difficulty in that we both use the same terms, but attach to them different meanings, speaking a different language without realizing that we do so." The present reviewer cannot resist commending the wisdom of that observation to the serious consideration of the members of our Joint Commission on Approaches to Unity. It seems both to explain the fate of our approaches to the Presbyterians, and to pose a caution with respect to our approaches to the Methodists.

The translator obviously feels that there has been difficulty in translating into English the exact *nuances* of the author's distinction between protestantism as a "word-revelation" and Catholicism as a "reality-revelation." An appendix chapter by Dr. van de Pol, we feel, makes the author's meaning abundantly clear. The recent appearance of Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin's *Communion Through Preaching*, whose subtitle is *The Monstrance of the Gospel*, points up the difference which the author has in mind. Shall we say that to the Catholic the extension of the Incarnation is the sacramental life of the faithful within the communion of the Church, whereas to the Protestant it is the life of the faithful fed upon the Word of God? The chapter on "Catholicism and Protestantism," in which the author amplifies the differences between the Roman Catholic and the Reformed understanding of "faith" and "grace" and "good works," is perhaps the most useful in the book.

It should be noted, however, that Dr. van de Pol's knowledge of Protestantism is a knowledge largely of its classical Lutheran and Calvinistic varieties. He recognizes, of course, the modifying factor of Liberalism and Modernism, and he recognizes the existence of the sect-type of Protestantism so conspicuous in the English and American religious scene; but his acquaintance with this type is quite limited. Eastern Orthodoxy and Old Catholicism he considers basically Catholic, and believes that they will be disappointed in their participation in the Ecumenical Movement and will find their true home only by a return to communion with Rome.

Dr. van de Pol is well informed about the Anglican Communion without displaying real understanding of the true nature and genius of Anglicanism, which by definition he is obliged to classify as Reformed and not Catholic. Nearly a century and a half ago a celebrated apologist for the Papacy, Count Joseph de Maistre, said of Anglicanism:

"If ever Christians unite, as all true and sound considerations make it their primary interest to do, it would reasonably appear that the movement must take its rise in the Church of England. . . She's most precious, and may be considered as one of those chemical intermediaries which are capable of uniting elements in themselves otherwise inassociable."

Our author likewise recognizes the unique place of Anglicanism in the Ecumenical Movement.

"No one can point to another Church which during the last century has shown such readiness to assimilate all the elements

of value found in other Churches. The ecumenical method of the Anglican Church is a realistic one."

Anglicans will find much that will interest and inform them, a few things that will amuse them, and some things to which they will take exception, in the chapter on "Anglicanism." The author's judgment that Anglicanism is "the form of Christianity that is least interested in theology and, hence, least trained in theology" needs to be balanced by Dr. Langmead Casserley's recently expressed judgment (*The Retreat from Christianity*, p. 73) that Bishop Butler and F. D. Maurice can take their places as creative theologians along with St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas. His statement that Anglicans do not strive to make converts sounds strange to one who, in twenty-three years as a parish priest in the Southwest, has presented something like 1,500 adult confirmation candidates. A reviewer in the London *Church Times* points out other misunderstandings of Anglicanism and suggests pertinently that Dr. van de Pol is unaware of the Archbishops' reply to the Papal condemnation of Anglican Orders. But after all our author, perhaps, is not to be faulted because he finds Anglicanism confusing and baffling. It is confusing and baffling to most of us Anglicans, too. May that not be because its non-Papal Catholicism is too dynamic to be thrust into a premature straight-jacket? And much as we may admire the spirit of our author, we do not see that he ever comes to grips with the Anglican rejection of Papal infallibility. For we still wait to be shown that it has any sound and valid basis whatever, either in Scripture, or in Church history, or in Catholic theology!

E. H. ECKEL.

*Trinity Church Rectory,
Tulsa, Oklahoma.*

Bishops and Societies. A Study of Anglican Colonial and Missionary Expansion, 1698-1850. By Hans Cnattingius. London, S. P. C. K., 1952. Pp 248. 21 shillings.

The amazing fact about this meticulous study is that it was made not by an Englishman but by a Swede, that it was written not in English but in Swedish, that it is the devoted work not of an Anglican but—presumably—a Lutheran. The author is a research fellow of Uppsala University.

The theme is strictly that of the title, not the sub-title. In the world-wide expansion of the Anglican Communion a decisive role was played by the Church of England's old and large missionary societies—the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S. P. G.), the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (S. P. C. K.), and the Church Missionary Society (C. M. S.). Their existence within the Church of England naturally raised many problems with regard to their relation to the recognized Church authorities. "The question of

the relationship between missionary societies and Church within the Anglican world developed necessarily, in view of the particular structural organization of this Church, into a question simply of the relationship between society and episcopate." No such study had ever been attempted before, although the need for it was pointed out by H. P. Thompson in his recent monumental 250th anniversary history of S. P. G., *Into All Lands*.

After a most painstaking survey of his field, Dr. Cnattingius briefly summarizes the findings in his conclusion. He states that the S. P. G.

"developed a High Church line, emphasized that the episcopal office belonged to the *esse* of the Church, and consequently placed itself from the outset under episcopal leadership and worked for the introduction of the episcopate in the colonies."

"The S. P. C. K. had never had time to develop any real system for the administration of missionary work before it abandoned all such independent activities in the middle of the 1820's. The basic attitude of the S. P. C. K. was, however, the same as that of the S. P. G., in spite of the fact that its status at home was more free in relation to the episcopal authority than was that of S. P. G."

"To the C. M. S. the episcopal office was—at best—of the *bene esse* of the Church. The society placed personal piety first, and was unwilling to grant the bishops *ex officio* any place in its communities. The C. M. S. was, indeed, anxious from the start to obtain episcopal sanction in the colonies, but tended generally in practice to emancipate itself almost entirely from the bishops."

The author emphasizes the importance of the proposal made to the Archbishop of Canterbury by Bishop Blomfield of London in 1840, urging the creation of a Colonial Bishops Fund so that each colony might enjoy "the benefit of episcopal government . . . from the very first." "What Blomfield was proposing was that the bishop should be part of the actual pioneer force. There cannot be the slightest doubt as to where this idea originated." Dr. Cnattingius then quotes liberally from the sermon, "The Missionary Bishop," preached in 1835 by George Washington Doane, Bishop of New Jersey, at the consecration of Jackson Kemper as the first missionary bishop of the American Church. He also cites the action of the General Convention of that year, making the Church itself the missionary society.

Unfortunately the book, published for the Church Historical Society, London, is impeded by a ponderous, heavy style. One wonders whether this is chargeable to the author or his translator. Well documented, the volume is fortified by an exhaustive bibliography which includes numerous American items.

C. RANKIN BARNES.

*Church Missions House,
New York.*

The Planting of Christianity among the West Saxons. By Edgar Legare Pennington. New York: William Salloch, 1951. pp vii, 69. Paper, \$1.00.

The Church of England and the Reformation. By Edgar Legare Pennington. New York: William Salloch, 1952. pp. 111. \$2.00.

These two little books, published posthumously, give further evidence of the diligence of the late historiographer of the Episcopal Church, for some nineteen years an associate editor of the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*.

The first is a competent and documented monograph, with bibliography, on the conversion of the West Saxons and on royal and ecclesiastical figures among the men of Wessex down to the time of Daniel of Winchester and his protégé, St. Boniface, the "Apostle of the Germans." In the second paragraph, beginning on p. 4, the printers have done something to the text—result, a meaningless sentence. On p. 55, *Codex Amiatianus* should be *Cod. Amiatinus*.

The second is a running account of the English Reformation from the Henrican repudiation of papal jurisdiction to the excommunication of Elizabeth by the bull *Regnans in Excelsis* of 1570, with particular attention given to the Marian reaction and the sufferings of the Anglican martyrs. Dependence on R. W. Dixon is obvious and frequently acknowledged. The book has the appearance of notes or a rough draft preliminary to a larger work which Dr. Pennington was unfortunately not spared to complete. The reviewer notes a slip on p. 23, where the Statute of Provisors is confused with the earlier Statute of Carlisle (1307).

PERCY V. NORWOOD.

*Seabury-Western Theological Seminary,
Evanston, Illinois.*

Torchbearer of Freedom: The Influence of Richard Price on Eighteenth Century Thought. By Carl B. Cone. Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press, 1952. Pp. 209. \$3.75.

Saints in Politics: The 'Clapham Sect' and the Growth of Freedom. By Ernest Marshall Howse. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952. Pp. 215. \$5.00.

England is a land of Church and Chapel, the home of Anglican and Dissenter. America is the land of Dissenter and Episcopalian. In Britain, the dissenters secured control temporarily of Church and State in the Age of the Puritan Revolution. They executed Archbishop Laud, Lord Stafford, and Charles I and acquired the name of Levellers.

Did the Unitarian minister, Dr. Richard Price, wish in his time to re-enact the Puritan Revolution or perhaps set off an English version of the French Revolution? Many men held him and his fellow dis-

senters suspect. The Younger Pitt was restrained with difficulty by the members of the Clapham Sect from putting large numbers of dissenters in jail.

The Rev. Dr. Ernest Marshall Howse tells the story of a great Anglican revolution whose force is not yet spent. One Anglican answer to English radical dissent and sympathy with the French Revolution was furnished by the work of the Anglican Clapham Sect. That influence speedily circled the earth. Dr. Howse has made a notable contribution to our knowledge of British history. American Episcopalians should read his fine volume, the product of many years of work, interestingly and clearly told.

The two books together illuminate the similarities and the differences in Anglo-American society. Dr. Price had great influence in America during and after the American Revolution. Only a few of the societies founded by the Clapham group can be mentioned: the British and Foreign Bible Society; the Church Missionary Society; the Religious Tract Society; and various anti-slavery societies.

Today, too much is said about institutions, movements, trends, as if men did not exist. The geographer or the economic determinist talks as if individuals had no weight in society. Such theories are contradicted by the work of Dr. Richard Price and by the notable men of the Clapham Sect, among whom were William Wilberforce and Charles Simeon.

FRANK J. KLINGBERG.

University of California, Los Angeles.

Correspondence and Minutes of the S. P. C. K. Relating to Wales, 1699-1740 Edited by Mary Clement. Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1952. Pp. xi, 369. Price 30/-.

Until the beginning of the present century, "the outbreak of the Welsh Methodist revival of the eighteenth century was still regarded as a dawn following decades of ignorance, vice and immorality" in Wales. Between 1902 and 1905, Thomas Shankland began the process of exploding this "darkest before the dawn" theory by expounding the influence of the S. P. C. K. on various aspects of Welsh life. He did not live to finish his researches, but his successors have strengthened his initial findings.

The present work, in addition to the Introduction and the Index, consists of four parts: (1) Abstracts of Letters from Welsh Correspondents; (2) Abstracts of Letters from the S. P. C. K. to Welsh Correspondents; (3) Minutes of the S. P. C. K. relating to Wales; and (4) Special Letters concerning Wales.

At the very first meeting of the Society, March 8, 1699, four of the five members present "had direct connections with Wales"; and by the end of the first month the Society's "connection with Wales was firmly established."

"The same active concern continued for at least forty years, and the many-sided character of the Society's work, and the obstacles which inevitably had to be overcome in carrying it out, are illustrated in the correspondence."

In fulfilling its educational aims in Wales, which included the dissemination of moral and religious literature, the Society needed to have, and did have, regular correspondents in all districts; it met the problems of a bilingual country by translating its literature into Welsh and by encouraging Welshmen to "write original books and pamphlets in Welsh." "In this way a considerable body of Welsh literature was produced, while in 1718 and 1727, two new impressions of the Welsh Bible were published by the Society."

Moreover, "Welshmen stand out conspicuously" in every sphere of the Society's work, which means that they—Welshmen—were concerned for the Society's activities in North America and the West Indies as well as in the rest of Great Britain.

This volume is, therefore, an important contribution not only to a well-rounded history of the S. P. C. K., but also to a more accurate knowledge of the real state of religion, morality and education in the first half of the eighteenth century. That the Anglican Church was spiritually dead was for long—too long—a favorite jibe of historians. Patient research, of which Dr. Clement's volume is an example, has disproved the contention. The very fact that the Evangelical Revival arose in the Church of England and not in nonconformity is evidence of its spiritual vitality. Reform movements arise, not when things are at their worst, but when conditions are getting better.

Those clergy whose lot has been largely cast in the first half of the twentieth century should have a good deal of sympathy for the 18th century Church. We in our day have had to serve the Church in an era of spiritual and moral decadence. There are signs in America of a revival of interest in religion. But if those who succeed us, and who reap the harvest of such a revival, contend that we who have led the Church in our generation were a set of lazy loafers and spiritually dead, and assail us with the whole catalogue of derelictions usually hurled at the leaders of the Church working in such an era, we shall resent it—if we should be around, as we probably shall not be! What we have a right to demand, and what the 18th century Church has a right to demand, is a true and well-rounded appraisal of the factors with which we have had to contend—materialism, secularism, excitement, atheism, agnosticism, and general irreligion—all characterized by two world wars, with the possibility of a third in the offing.

By and large, those who know most about the 18th century are the most charitable in their judgments of the Church which had to fight the spiritual battles of that century. That is all we ask of our successors: that they really understand the conditions with which we have had to contend.

WALTER H. STOWE.

Scotland of the Saints. By D. D. Pochin Mould. London, B. T. Batsford, Ltd.

This is a delightful book and well named. Dr. Mould writes with ease, knowledge and charm of Columcille, perhaps more widely known as Columba (521-597)—poet, missionary, politician, and priest (never a bishop)—the saint of Iona, who travelled far and wide, and founded many churches; of Ninian, pupil of Martin of Tours, who built a church at Whithorn—Candida Casa, the White House, and named it after Martin; of Kenneth, a poor man's son, yet closest friend of the princely Columcille, and like him a great missionary and founder of churches. Other saints, too, are as skillfully portrayed in this little book, which will be a delight to all lovers of Scotland. The book is well illustrated.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

*St. Margaret's Vicarage,
Oxford, England.*

The Era of the Church Fathers (A History of the Early Church, Vol. IV). By Hans Lietzmann, translated by Bertram Lee Woolf. New York, Scribner's, 1952. 212 pp. \$4.00.

The last volume of his *Church History* which Hans Lietzmann lived to complete treats with his usual learning and brilliance the crucial generation from 363-395 A. D., which saw the final victory of the Nicene faith, the Second General Council, and the career of St. Ambrose. There are also two admirable chapters of a more general character, on Popular Religion and Monasticism. The appearance of an English translation will be welcomed by students of the Early Church.

E. R. HARDY.

*Berkeley Divinity School,
New Haven, Connecticut.*

Documents Illustrating Papal Authority, A. D. 96-454. Edited and introduced by E. Giles. London, S. P. C. K., 1952, pp. 354. Price 17s 6d.

In its particular field, this book should be akin in its usefulness to Henry Bettenson's *Documents of the Christian Church* (New York and London, Oxford University Press, 1947, pp. 457). In his introduction the editor states:

"The chief excuse for my book is that extracts from the fathers, when seen in their context, so often give a different picture

from that which they give when quoted briefly by controversial writers. Most readers of controversy have neither the time nor the knowledge to enable them to go to libraries, check the references, and translate into English. Yet it is obvious that an author with an axe to grind must never be taken at his own valuation. Our Documents are therefore collected to put at the disposal of the English reader the raw material necessary for the study of this dispute."

Mr. Giles uses mainly Charles Gore, *Roman Catholic Claims* (1st ed., 1888; 11th ed., 1921), and Dom John Chapman's reply to the 9th edition, *Bishop Gore and the Catholic Claims* (1905), for the selection of the documents, thus keeping the book within bounds. He should have liked "to avoid all notes and comments, but this seemed impossible."

"It has been necessary to link the Documents to the history of this Church, and in some cases to show how they have been used by the axe-grinders. To do this fairly is not easy."

The editor's purpose is irenic, and uses as the text for his introduction John 17:11—"That they may be one." He points out the problem of reconciling Dr. Trevor Jalland's opinion—"Reflexion on the real implications of the original data [of the Roman primacy] was needed before their full significance was generally appreciated"—with the official statement of Pope Leo XIII that present beliefs about papal authority are not new, but are "the venerable and constant belief of every age."

Chapter titles will give a good idea of the compass of the book:

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| I. The Apostolic Fathers. | XIV. The Time of Pope Siricius. |
| II. Irenaeus. | XV. Jerome. |
| III. The Dispute about Easter. | XVI. John Chrysostom. |
| IV. Tertullian. | XVII. Augustine. |
| V. Visitors to Rome. | XVIII. Pope Innocent I. |
| VI. Two Anti-Popes: Hippolytus and Novatian. | XIX. Pope Zosimus. |
| VII. Origen. | XX. Apiarius and Antony. |
| VIII. Cyprian. | XXI. The Council of Ephesus, 431. |
| IX. Baptism by Heretics. | XXII. The Time of Pope Sixtus III. |
| X. A. D. 260 to 314. | XXIII. Vincent of Lerins. |
| XI. Arian Troubles. | XXIV. Leo the Great. |
| XII. The Time of Pope Damasus. | XXV. The Council of Chalcedon. |
| XIII. Meletius. | XXVI. Leo after Chalcedon. |

The volume concludes with four indexes: (1) of documents; (2) of Scripture References; (3) of the Bishops of Rome; and (4) General Index.

Teachers of Church history will probably find the book exceedingly useful, if not indispensable.

WALTER H. STOWE.

Sponsors at Baptism and Confirmation: An Historical Introduction to Anglican Practice. By Derrick Sherwin Bailey, Ph. D. (London: S. P. C. K. 1952) 10s. 6d. Pp. xiii, 162.

Dr. Bailey, who is Central Lecturer of the Church of England Moral Welfare Council, explains in his Preface that he has written this book in response to a suggestion in the Report of the 1948 Lambeth Conference Committee that such an historical study would be a valuable guide for future practice. We believe that he has made a timely, as well as scholarly, contribution to recent discussion as to the relationship of confirmation to baptism, both theologically and in the whole context of Christian nurture. We are in thorough accord with his conclusion that sponsorship is more than an archaic and meaningless survival, but a valuable and essential feature of Christian initiation.

The origins of the institution of Christian sponsorship are lost in obscurity. The earliest references to it in Justin Martyr and Tertullian are not too clear as to the duties of sponsors and the part that they took in the baptismal rite. Sponsors for adult converts were primarily guarantors of the sincerity of intention of the candidates. Sponsors for children, as the practice of infant baptism became general, had the duty of replying on behalf of the child to the baptismal interrogations, and very early it was recognized that such sponsorship carried with it the responsibility for a continued interest in the child's spiritual welfare and religious upbringing.

To the original conception of the sponsors as the representatives of the candidates St. Augustine added and developed the idea that they represent the Church, and that the Church in reality presents the infants through the instrumentality of the sponsors. Caesarius of Arles (c. 469-542) is the first to include among the specific duties of sponsors the teaching of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, to which was added in mediaeval times the *Ave Maria*. Post-Reformation Anglicanism eliminated the *Ave Maria* and added the Decalogue.

The reader will find in Dr. Bailey's pages well documented descriptions of the changing liturgical practice of the Church, both East and West, with respect to baptism and confirmation, the function of sponsors, their number and qualifications. We see how the development of the idea of "spiritual affinity" resulted in the exclusion of parents from acting as sponsors to their own children and introduced further complications with respect to prohibitions of marriage between "spiritual relations." In a part of the country where the Baptist doctrine of "believer's baptism" is widely held, the present reviewer has often cited the men who let the paralytic down through the roof, and those who brought the young children to Jesus that He might bless them, as New Testament illustrations of how our Lord can act upon the faith of others (e. g. sponsors) to bring blessing and grace to those who were incapable of exercising their own faith. Needless to say, I was delighted to note these illustrations embodied in a canon of the Synod of Aris as far back as the year 1025!

In his chapter of summary and conclusion, Dr. Bailey supports the Lambeth Committee Report with respect to parental sponsorship, going a step further in urging that it be *required*, unless there be good reason

to the contrary. He advocates the one non-parental sponsor, but would discourage the multiplication of sponsors for social and other reasons. He would limit sponsorship to communicants and discourage the assumption of sponsorship by anyone for more than a very limited number of children (ideally, one godchild, apart from one's own children). He would dignify the office of sponsor by including a formal dedication and commissioning of sponsors in the Baptismal Office. In every way possible he advocates greater attention to the theory of sponsorship and explicit teaching of the obligations which devolve upon the sponsors.

There can be no doubt that reform along the lines which he advocates would go far to revitalize and make meaningful an institution which we have too readily taken for granted and permitted too much laxity to develop therein.

E. H. ECKEL.

*Trinity Church Rectory,
Tulsa, Oklahoma.*

III. Theology and Philosophy

Sacrifice in Greek and Roman Religions and Early Judaism. By Royden Keith Yerkes. New York: Scribners. xix-267 pages. Price \$3.50.

For many years Dr. Yerkes has been one of our distinguished American theologians, but his devotion to the teaching of generations of seminarians has given him little time to spend in sharing, with a wider audience, his studies in Christian origins. Now we have from his pen the first of what we hope—as will all his readers—will be a series of books dealing with the meaning of worship and sacrifice. We are promised a second on the theology of the Eucharist, in its sacrificial aspects; and we can hope for more, dealing with other aspects of the central sacramental rite of Christian worship.

The present volume is a thorough examination of the concept of sacrifice as it appears in Greek and Roman religions and as it finds itself expressed in Jewish religion. Extensive notes complete the work, with a full series of indexes and charts which will be valuable for reference by expert students in the field.

This review is no place for a detailed examination of Dr. Yerkes' main thesis and its several applications. It must suffice to say that the chief value of the work is the way in which the author has demonstrated that the sacrificial idea is essential to religion, for it and it alone adequately safeguards the insistence that the religious man is one who seeks to learn God's will, to cooperate with that will, to rely upon God for protection in so doing, and above all to "surrender entirely to God and his will." The Eucharist as incorporation of the Christian into the self-offering of Christ, with the result that he thereby is enabled to share in the "Christ life" (as Dr. Yerkes calls it over and over again), is the sacrificial rite *par excellence*. As the whole life of Christ was a sacrificial offering to God the Father, so the believer who shares in that

life through "communion in the body and blood of Christ" is enabled to participate in the sacrifice which Christ offered, supremely expressed in the death on the Cross, and thereby share in the offering itself.

Dr. Yerkes' study helps us to get back of the corrupted notions of sacrifice against which the Reformers protested, and to understand, with a fresh and penetrating appreciation, that the *truth* of sacrifice is in no way denied when one has discarded the views which the Thirty-Nine Articles are concerned to show are dangerous and even blasphemous. There is another value in this remarkable book: Dr. Yerkes has a gift for penetrating to the real meaning of rites and ceremonies amongst primitive peoples, as also amongst Greeks and Romans, not to mention those used by the ancient Hebrews themselves; through this sympathetic insight he sees that even under forms that to us often appear strange and barbaric, fundamental religious truths were being expressed. Thus we learn that "types and shadows", which in Christ have their "ending," were none the less real types and genuine shadows, and the "newer rite," which fulfils them all, does this without negating the primitive insight into man's relationship with ultimate Reality expressed in the act of sacrificial worship.

W. NORMAN PITTENGER.

*General Theological Seminary,
New York City.*

Ancient Christian Writers. St. Augustine. Sermons for Christmas and Epiphany. Translated and Annotated by Thomas Comerford Lawler. (Westminster, Maryland. The Newman Press. 1952) \$3.25. Pp. 249.

This is one of more than a hundred volumes of patristic writings now in process of translation and editing under the auspices of the Catholic University of America. Needless to say, so ambitious and useful an undertaking commands our sympathetic commendation and best wishes.

The volume under review is No. 15 of the series. Fr. Lawler acknowledges his indebtedness to the Benedictines of St. Maur, who in 1683 brought out an edition of St. Augustine's sermons. But new Augustinian material has continued to appear, until now approximately 685 genuine sermons of St. Augustine are known, not to mention 850 others that have been attributed to him. For the most part, the twenty-three sermons contained in this volume appear in English for the first time. Fifteen were delivered on Christmas Day or within a day or two thereafter; two on New Year's Day; and six on the feast of the Epiphany.

Inevitably there is some repetition of thought and phraseology in the sermons selected; but they are admirably chosen to illustrate St. Augustine's insistence on Nicene orthodoxy, the strong Biblical quality of his preaching, his interest in the symbolism of numbers, and his deep pastoral concern for those to whom he preaches. Here we encounter (possibly for the first time) the familiar reflections upon the appropriateness of observing the Nativity just after the winter solstice.

The preacher is deeply imbued with a sense of the paradox of the Incarnation, as for instance:

"By His birth of an earthborn mother He hallowed this one day who by His birth of the Father was the Creator of all ages. In the one birth a mother was impossible, while for the other no human father was required. In fact, Christ was born both of a father and of a mother, both without a father and without a mother; of a Father as God, of a mother as man; without a mother as God, without a father as man. *Who, then, shall declare His generation?* The one is without time, the other without seed; the one without beginning, the other without parallel; the one which has always been, the other which has never been before or since; the one which does not end, the other which begins where it ends."

The modern reader will delight in the logic wherewith St. Augustine propounds the congruity of the Virgin Birth and refutes adoptianism. He will follow with admiration his well reasoned comparison to show that the Word did not leave the Father when *It* was made flesh. He will appreciate Augustine's demonstration of the error of astrology (in an Epiphany sermon) and his warnings against pagan licentiousness in his New Year's sermons. And above all he will enjoy the preacher's occasional flashes of rhetoric in such passages as this from one of the Christmas sermons:

"Rejoice, you who are just. It is the birthday of Him who justifies.

"Rejoice, you who are weak and sick. It is the birthday of Him who makes well.

"Rejoice you who are in captivity. It is the birthday of the Redeemer.

"Rejoice, you who are slaves. It is the birthday of the Master.

"Rejoice, you who are free. It is the birthday of Him who makes free.

"Rejoice, you Christians all. It is Christ's birthday."

E. H. ECKEL.

*Trinity Church Rectory,
Tulsa, Oklahoma.*

St. Prosper of Aquitaine: The Call of All Nations (Ancient Christian Writers No. 14). Translated and annotated by P. DeLetter, S. J. Westminster, Newman Press, 1952. 234 pp. \$3.25.

Prosper of Aquitaine was one of the first writers to begin the effort which the Western Church has kept up ever since to retain St.

Augustine's emphasis on the gospel of grace while avoiding the predestinarianism of his later writings. Fr. DeLetter's excellent translation maintains the high standard of the *Ancient Christian Writers* series, and is a welcome addition to the patristic works available in English. The only previous translation in any modern language was a French version of 1649, a contribution evidently to one side or the other in the Jansenist controversy, in which, as so often before and since, Augustine again became a contemporary.

E. R. HARDY.

*Berkeley Divinity School,
New Haven, Connecticut.*

The Enigma of the Hereafter. By Paul Siwek. New York: Philosophical Library. xiv-140 pages. \$3.00.

Dr. Siwek, who is a member of the Fordham University faculty, has written a thoroughly interesting and destructive study of ideas of reincarnation, held by various oriental religions and by some of their western imitators. The theory is shown to be absurd and to lack even the moral and religious, as well as philosophical, values which are often claimed for it. The book is very adequately documented, with extensive quotations from the sacred books of the East and also from modern writers like Mrs. Besant and her disciples. Its principal use for readers of this magazine will be to provide them with the information they need in discussions with those who have been enamoured of modern gnostic and oriental cults, such as theosophy, anthroposophy and the like. The parish priest who sometimes has to deal with such persons now has a convenient handbook which demonstrates scientifically the absurdity of a major tenet of these cults.

W. NORMAN PITTENGER.

*The General Theological Seminary,
New York City.*

Two Vital Questions. By William Postell Witsell. Boston: Christopher Publishing House. 172 pages. Price \$2.50.

REVIEW NO. I.

Dr. Witsell was for many years rector of Christ Church, Little Rock, Arkansas. This book, dealing with the problems of prayer and "life after death" has quite obviously grown out of his pastoral experience and his long ministry with those needing help both in their efforts

to learn how to pray, and in their sorrow at the death of those for whom they care. The treatment of the subjects will commend itself to many, although the homiletic vein will not appeal to some. On the whole, the author states fairly conventional ideas in a fairly conventional way, but with clarity and simplicity. Even if the book will not meet the needs of those who approach the topics with modern secularistic presuppositions and therefore must be persuaded first to accept the traditional Christian ones, it will confirm the faithful and help those who are already within the circle of Christian faith to see some of the implications of that faith.

W. NORMAN PITTENGER.

*General Theological Seminary,
New York City.*

REVIEW NO. II.

Out of a long experience in the pastoral ministry, Dr. Witsell deals with two questions which concern everyone. The answers are based, in part, upon the author's own reasoning; and, in even larger part, upon numerous authorities, from the Scriptures and Church Fathers on down to contemporary writers.

DuBOSE MURPHY.

*Christ Church Rectory,
Tuscaloosa, Alabama.*

The Carillon. By the Rev. Lawrence W. Pearson, with a Foreword by the Rt. Rev. Stephen F. Bayne, Jr., D. D. Morehouse-Gorham, New York, 1952. pp. 136.

This is a collection of short, beautifully written essays or meditations on a rich variety of themes. Some of them are concerned with seasons or festivals of the Church year; others have to do with special occasions in school or community life. They are packed with meaning and will stimulate thought. They will serve well for morning devotional periods and might profitably be expanded into sermons or addresses.

DuBOSE MURPHY.

The Hope of Glory. By the Rev. John S. Higgins, with a foreword by the Rt. Rev. H. W. B. Donegan, D. D. Morehouse-Gorham, New York, 1953, pp. 146.

One of the best known and most loved prayers in the Book of Common Prayer is the General Thanksgiving. Here we have an exposition of this prayer, in which each phrase is studied with genuine spiritual insight. There are many stories and other illustrations, of varying helpfulness. The historically-minded will deplore the reference to the long-distance telephone on page 36; Thoreau died in 1862, fourteen years before Alexander Graham Bell's invention and even longer before anything like a long distance telephone line was put up.

This is the second "Annual Bishop of New York Book" for Lenten reading, and will bring devotional help to many readers at any time of the year. The author has recently been elected bishop coadjutor of Rhode Island.

DuBOSE MURPHY.

Meditations and Devotions by Francois de Fenelon (1651-1715). Selected and translated by Elizabeth C. Fenn. New York, Morehouse-Gorham Co., 1952, pp. 143. \$2.00.

It is a most helpful thing to select and translate from a standard and classical devotional work like Fenelon's. When the selection is made with good judgment and the translation excellent, it is doubly useful. The average person needs detailed guidance in the art and duty of meditation, and this little book does just that. The selections for the Church year are particularly helpful, and the book as a whole is commended to those seeking to strengthen their devotional life.

F. A. McELWAIN.

DuBose Conference Center,
Monteagle, Tennessee.

Evolving Universe. By Rufus S. Phillips. New York: Philosophical Library. 177 pages. \$3.75.

Solving the Riddle of the Universe. By Arthur A. Walty. New York: Philosophical Library. 447 pages. \$6.75.

It is safe to say that neither of these books, here noted together, will interest readers of this magazine. Or perhaps both of them will, if a reader wishes to see what queer ideas, sometimes gnostic, sometimes

quasi-scientific, can attract modern men of good will who should be drawn to the faith of the Catholic Church.

Mr. Phillips' book is a strange medley of theosophy and "mental science," while Mr. Walty's includes a survey of the present state of our scientific knowledge, with some speculations about life on other planets and similar matters, and concludes with an ethic of good-will and understanding that requires, one should think, a firmer grounding than he is able to give. Both books at least point to the need for an incisive, modern-minded, sympathetic and compelling presentation of the Church's faith to the large numbers of men and women—for whom these authors stand as symbols—who desperately need precisely such a faith as God has made possible through the gospel of his incarnate and redeeming Son.

W. NORMAN PITTENGER.

*General Theological Seminary,
New York City.*





ST. JOHN'S CHURCH—1810

ST. JOHN'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH
Elizabeth, New Jersey

The Rev. George Keith Held Services in Elizabeth Town, November 3, 1703
Regular Services Were Begun in 1705
Parish Organized, 1706
First Church Edifice Built, June 24, 1706
Present Church Built, September 5, 1859
Redecorated and Rededicated, October 29, 1950



FIRST RECTORY OF SAINT JOHN'S CHURCH
Erected in 1696. Bought by Church Trustees in 1749 for £162

ACCORDING to F. B. Kelley and W. R. Dix in *Historic Elizabeth*, the house at 633 Pearl Street "was built by Andrew Hamton (or Hampton) who is said, by a carefully preserved family tradition, to have eloped from Scotland with 'Lady Margaret Cummins, or Cumyns.' He settled in Elizabeth Town and built this house."

In 1749 church trustees purchased the house with about four acres of land for their young catechist, Thomas B. Chandler, soon to be ordained and to be their most famous rector. It was enlarged in 1765, and in 1817 largely rebuilt. It served the parish as a rectory for over a century. Among several rectors who conducted a school in it was Dr. John Churchill Rudd, rector from 1805 to 1826, who attained distinction as editor of the *Gospel Messenger*, published by him in Auburn and Utica, New York, from 1827 until his death in 1848.

This property was sold in 1902 and the proceeds were placed in the parish building fund.

Part II

The History of Saint John's Church Elizabeth, New Jersey, Done in Heraldry*

Exposition by Walter H. Stowe

Starting at the east end of the nave, on the gospel side, the shields are displayed in the following order:



1. *The Church of England* is the Mother Church of the Anglican Communion—a world-wide "Fellowship within the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, of those duly constituted Dioceses, Provinces, or Regional Churches in communion with the see of Canterbury," in voluntary association, united in the faith and order contained in the Book of Common Prayer.

The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, commonly called "The Episcopal Church," or the "American Episcopal Church," is one of the fourteen autonomous or self-governing Churches in 325 dioceses of the Anglican Communion, and the first to be organized outside the British Isles.

The shield of the Church of England is the Cross of Saint George, red on a field of silver.



2. *The See of Canterbury* was founded in 597, when St. Augustine was consecrated Archbishop of the English by Virgilius at Arles in Gaul. In 601, he was made primate of all England. The American episcopate was received through the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1787 and 1790, and since 1792 all bishops of this Church, now numbering over 515, have received their orders at the hands of a chief consecrator of the English succession. The shield shows the pall, together with the cross, of the Archbishop of Canterbury as charges on a blue field. The Most Reverend Geoffrey Francis Fisher, D. D., the present incumbent, is the 100th Archbishop of Canterbury, representing a continuous succession of over thirteen and a half centuries.

*The shields herein shown were designed by Lyman C. Douglas, architect, and executed by Rambusch, New York City. The engravings were kindly loaned to HISTORICAL MAGAZINE by the rector, the Rev. Harold C. Whitmarsh.—*Editor's note.*



3. *The See of York.* Of the three British bishops known to have attended the Council of Arles in 314 A. D., the see of one was York; but its present founding dates from 627—thirty years after Canterbury. Until 1353, the Archbishop of York claimed equality with the Archbishop of Canterbury, but since then York bears the title, "Primate of England," while Canterbury is "Primate of All England." The importance of this see to the American Church is that Archbishop William Markham of York was a co-consecrator with Archbishop John Moore of Canterbury in the consecration of William White and Samuel Provoost in 1787 as the first American bishops in the English line of succession, along with two other English bishops. In the shield, on the field of red are displayed in gold the crossed keys of St. Peter and a royal crown. The Most Reverend Cyril Forster Garbett, D.D., the present Archbishop of York, is the 90th incumbent of that see.



4. *The Diocese of London* is symbolized by crossed gold swords, signifying both the spiritual and temporal powers, on a red field. They are also a symbol for Saint Paul. A British bishop, named Restitutus, attended the Council of Arles in 314, and assented to its decrees; but the present foundation of that see dates from the consecration of Mellitus in 604. All Anglican churches in the American colonies were under the nominal jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, which meant that every Anglican clergyman officiating in them had to obtain a license from him, and every American candidate for holy orders, 1607-1784, had to be ordained in England by the Bishop of London or by some bishop designated by him.



5. *Archbishop Thomas Cranmer.* These arms symbolize the period of the Reformation and the form which the Catholic Church in England took after it had been reformed, as exemplified in the faith and order of the Book of Common Prayer. The first two English Prayer Books—1549 and 1553—were largely the work of Cranmer. He combined his family arms with those of Canterbury. The pelican-in-her piety (plucking open her breast and feeding her young with her own blood) is one of the most widely used and most striking symbols of our Lord's Atonement. It is also a symbol of the Eucharist.



6. *Queen Anne*. This symbolizes the founding (1706) of St. John's Church, which was during the reign (1702-1714) of "good" Queen Anne, a devoted Churchwoman and a generous patron of the Church. She granted crown revenues to form "Queen Anne's Bounty," for the relief of the poorer clergy. The royal arms are those of England and Scotland, the union of which took place (1707) in her reign, quartered with France and Ireland.



7. *The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, commonly called the S. P. G., is illustrated by a modification of the Seal of the S. P. G. on the shield. This Society, founded 250 years ago, in 1701, and still functioning effectively throughout the world, sent and partially supported 353 missionaries in the American colonies between 1701 and 1784. It is to this Venerable Society that not only St. John's Church, but the American Episcopal Church owes most, under God, "for her first foundation and long continuance of nursing care and protection."



8. *King George III*. On July 20, 1762, during the reign of this sovereign, the parish was incorporated by royal charter as "The Rector, Church Wardens and Vestry of St. John's Church in Elizabeth-Town," under which charter it still functions. The difference between the arms of George III and those of Queen Anne (No. 6 *above*) is to be found in the fourth quarter, where the arms of Hanover, in the center of which is the crown of Charlemagne, have been added.



9. *Bishop Samuel Seabury*. He was the first American Bishop in any of the thirteen original states. His consecration as Bishop of Connecticut on November 14, 1784, by three bishops of the Scottish Episcopal Church, gave assurance to the prostrated and unorganized Episcopal churches in America that a valid, free and purely ecclesiastical episcopate could be had, and hastened the ensuing consecrations in the English line.

Seabury had begun his ministry, after ordination as deacon and priest, in New Jersey in 1754 at New Brunswick. In September, 1785, three months after his return to America, he ordained for service in New Jersey the Rev. Samuel Spraggs—the

first candidate from New Jersey to be ordained by an American bishop, and the sixth deacon and sixth priest upon whom Seabury laid his hands. On April 13, Spraggs was called to Saint John's to relieve the ailing Chandler, and on January 1, 1791, succeeded him as rector.

The top of this shield bears three colonial vines, while below are the crossed key and crosier symbolizing his ecclesiastical rank.



10. *St. John's Church.* The seal of this parish, adopted sometime after the granting of its charter, is here shown on a blue shield. The design of the seal is a variation of the colonial vine, surrounded by the name, "Saint John's Church." The vine and the lettering are done in silver on a red background.



11. *The Diocese of New Jersey.* The Rev. Abraham Beach, who ministered to St. John's during the Revolutionary War, initiated the first interstate meeting looking towards the union and organization of the independent Episcopal congregations in America, which was held in New Brunswick on May 11, 1784. This was followed by the second interstate meeting in New York in October, which in turn sent out a call for the organization of dioceses, where such had not been done, and for the assembling of the first General Convention in Philadelphia in September, 1785. In response to this call, the Diocese of New Jersey was organized on July 6, 1785. St. John's Church was represented by Patrick Dennis, layman. Dr. Chandler and Dennis were elected deputies to the first General Convention.

At the second diocesan convention, May 16-19, 1786, St. John's was represented by six lay delegates; and this convention adopted the famous "New Jersey Memorial," protesting strongly against the *Proposed Prayer Book* of 1785, which protest had a salutary effect upon the General Convention of 1786.

The Diocese of New Jersey existed for thirty years without a bishop, and one hundred and ten years without any official seal. Its present seal was adopted by the diocesan convention of 1895.*

*See Diocese of New Jersey, *Journal*, 1895, pp. 62-63; the report of the committee of 1895 is reprinted in the *Journal*, 1950, pp. 69-70.

In 1664, Charles II granted to his brother James, Duke of York, the Dutch domain, which included the area now known as New Jersey. In June of that year, James with a stroke of his pen gave the latter area to two of his favorites—Sir George Carteret and John, Lord Berkeley—to be known as *Nova Caesarea* in honor of the Isle of Jersey where in 1650 Carteret as governor had sheltered James from Cromwell. With these facts in mind, the committee on the diocesan seal "sought to devise one that shall have some historical interest attaching to it."

"For this purpose your Committee have procured from the Dean of Jersey, representing the ecclesiastical authority, the arms of the Deanery, and from the Chief Magistrate, representing the civil authority, the arms of the Island. These have been combined for the seal of the Diocese of New Jersey, placing the arms of the Deanery, consisting of three bendlets, in the right or dexter half of the shield, and the arms of the Island, three leopards, in the left or sinister half. The general design is that of the Seal of the Deanery, being vesica in shape, with the Pastoral Staff dividing the shield as in the Dean's Seal.

"The Seal also contains the date of the founding of the Diocese, A.D. MDCCLXXXV, and the Latin words: *Sigillum Diaecesis Novae Caesariensis*."

One of the nine crosses in the canton or first quarter of the official shield of The Episcopal Church (*see below*, No. 12) signifies the Diocese of New Jersey, since it was one of the nine dioceses represented in the General Convention of 1789, which completed the organization and achieved the unity of the Church.



12. *The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.* The shield is similar to that of the Church of England (*See above*, No. 1), the Mother Church of the Anglican Communion, to which the American Church, as the Preface to the Prayer Book states, "is indebted, under God, for her first foundation and a long continuance of nursing care and protection." There has been added, however, a blue field with nine crosses, in the canton, or first quarter.

Thus the shield symbolizes (1) the American Church's heritage from, and indebtedness to, the Church of England; (2) the nine crosses signify the autonomy of the American Church, since nine dioceses were represented in the General Convention of 1789, which completed the organization and achieved the unity of the Church; (3) the St. Andrew's Cross, in which form the nine crosses are arranged, symbolizes the Episcopal Church of Scotland (St. Andrew being its patron saint), and is a reminder of the fact that the first American Bishop, Samuel Seabury, received his episcopal orders in 1784 from that Church.—Quoted from WALTER H. STOWE, *The Episcopal Church: A Miniature History* (Philadelphia, Church Historical Society, 2nd ed., 1952), Cover III.

The Bishop of New York Book for 1953

THE HOPE OF GLORY

By JOHN S. HIGGINS

Bishop Coadjutor of Rhode Island

This book, the second in the recently-inaugurated series of annual "Bishop of New York Books," is a devotional commentary on the Prayer of General Thanksgiving. In it, the author analyzes the prayer in a series of essays on the vast themes of the Christian Faith—"God in His threefold activity as Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, and the doctrines of sin, grace, sacraments, prayer, and praise."

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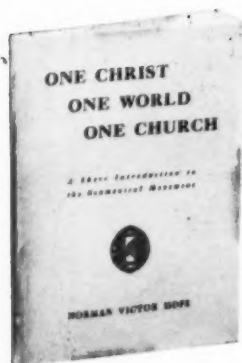
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*Sometime Bishop of Kyoto, Bishop of Virginia, and
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1938-1947*



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THIS is Bishop Tucker's autobiography, covering his life up to his return to the United States in 1923. Of the 26 chapters, the first four are concerned with his early life in Virginia, because "I owe to my home and school training whatever qualifications I may have had for work as a missionary."

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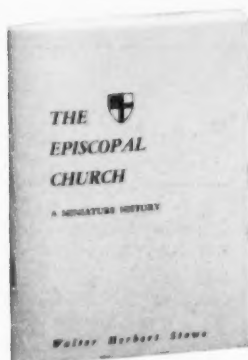
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